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# The Right to Belong to the Land: Coloniality and Resistance in the Araucanía

A thesis submitted to the University of Warwick  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Politics and  
International Studies

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I dedicate this thesis to the *Machi* Francisca whose strength left a mark in me and to the Lonko Alfredo Tralcal, and the brothers Pablo, Benito and Ariel that are in hunger strike for the last 114 days after a year of being in prison without any charges. These five people have been accused of terrorism and still waiting for a fair trial.



## **Declaration**

This thesis is entirely my own work and no portion of it has been submitted for a degree at another university.

# Abstract

This project focuses on the formation of the countryside in the violent encounter of extractive capitalism and resistance movements. My case study looks at land contestation in the Araucanía (centre-south of Chile) between forestry corporations, state agencies and Mapuche rural communities. The project questions the narrow approach to understandings of land in the Western canon as a relation of exclusive ownership. I examine how land is changing its role as a provider of the quotidian and an environmental regulator to become a disciplinary technology of displacement. Through different deployments of notions of land (i.e.: property, territory and patrimony) I developed a typology of land resistance based on the perspective of the communities actively resisting land dispossession and claiming ancestral land.

To date, a considerable body of research has sought to explore the restructuring of the countryside in the Global South through political-economy approaches. Instead of using a quantitative analysis to think of global capital expansion over rural peripheral lands, this thesis explores the changing qualities of land in relation to the advancement of land commodification. Thus, I take a relational approach to land, first, to fill a gap in how the production of land has been theorised to date, and second, to show how its contested determination (as a resource) affects the formation of the rural social space. This study will demonstrate how property relations are losing dominance over the management of the ground with the arrival of other landed relations showing that land is more than a thing to be owned.

By using the case of the forestry sector in Chile, I explore the corporate takeover of rural lands as a continuation of a long history of expropriation and exploitation of racialized peoples and lands. In order to give context to the current period, I revisit the history of racialized landed relations in the Araucanía arriving to its current forms. This new period of modern-colonial relations will show a new calibration between fixes and dispossessions at the encounter between global corporate interest in land on one hand and indigenous ancestral land claims on the other.

# List of Acronyms, abbreviations and translations

## Abbreviations

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <b>CAM</b>         | Arauco Malleco Coordination (Coordiadora Arauco Malleco)                                 |
| <b>CASEN</b>       | National Census (Caracterización Socioeconómica Nacional)                                |
| <b>CEPAL/ECLAC</b> | Economic Commision for Latin America and the Caribbean                                   |
| <b>CMPC</b>        | Manufacture company of Paper and Carboard (Compañía Manufacturera de Papeles y Cartones) |
| <b>CONADI</b>      | Indigenous Development Agency Chile  |
| <b>CONAF</b>       | National Forest Corporation -  |
| <b>CORFO</b>       | Production Development Corporation   |
| <b>CMN</b>         | National Momument Council  |
| <b>CTT</b>         | All lands coordination (Coordinadora Todas las Tierras)                                  |
| <b>ECLAC</b>       | Economic Commission for Latin American and the Caribbean                                 |
| <b>EEZ</b>         | Economic Exclusive Zone  |
| <b>EZLN</b>        | Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional  |
| <b>FDI</b>         | Foreign Direct Investment  |
| <b>FSC</b>         | Forest Stewardship Council   |
| <b>GDP</b>         | Gross Domestic Product   |
| <b>GRAIN</b>       | International Coalition for Development Action   |
| <b>HCTS</b>        | Hectares   |
| <b>HRW</b>         | Human Rights Watch   |
| <b>IDB</b>         | Inter-American Development Bank  |
| <b>ILO</b>         | International Labour Organization  |
| <b>IMF</b>         | International Monetary Found   |
| <b>INFOR</b>       | Forestry Institute (Instituto Forestal de Chile)   |

|                |   |
|----------------|---|
| <b>INFORSA</b> | Forestry Industry S.A   |
| <b>ISI</b>     | Import Substitution Industrialization   |
| <b>ISO</b>     | International Standards Organizations   |
| <b>JP</b>      | Juridical Personality   |
| <b>LSE</b>     | Law of State Security (Ley de Seguridad Interior del Estado)  |
| <b>MT</b>      | Mercy Title   |
| <b>NGO</b>     | Non-Governmental Organization   |
| <b>NMC</b>     | National Monument Council Chile   |
| <b>OCMAL</b>   | Latin American Observatory of Mining Conflicts (Observatorio de Conflictos Mineros de America Latina)     |
| <b>RECOMA</b>  | Latin American Network Against Trees Monoculture (Red Latinoamericana contra los Monocultivos de Árboles) |
| <b>SCS</b>     | Sites of Cultural Significance  |
| <b>SEZ</b>     | Special Economic Zone   |
| <b>TI</b>      | Territorial Identities  |
| <b>UN</b>      | United Nations  |
| <b>UNESCO</b>  | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization  |
| <b>USAID</b>   | United States Aid   |
| <b>WRM</b>     | World Rainforest Movement   |
| <b>WWF</b>     | World Wide Fund for Nature  |

## Mapudunzung

|                  |                                       |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <b>AD MAPU</b>   | Rules and Precepts of Mapuche Society |
| <b>AUKIN</b>     | Council of all Lands                  |
| <b>WALLMAPUC</b> |                                       |
| <b>NGULAM</b>    |                                       |
| <b>AYLAREWE</b>  | Nine Rewe                             |
| <b>CHE</b>       | People                                |

|                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| <b>FÜTANMAPU</b>               | Territorial Spaces (Hispanicized as Butanmapu) Big Land   |
| <b>KIMUN</b>                   | Knowledge   |
| <b>HUINCUN</b>                 | Hill  |
| <b>LAFKENMAPU</b>              | Land of The Sea (West)  |
| <b>LAWEN</b>                   | Natural remedies  |
| <b>LOF LOF, LEBO, LOB, LOV</b> | Spatial Kinship Unit/ Village   |
| <b>LONKO</b>                   | Kinship Communal Leader   |
| <b>MACHI</b>                   | Healer, Spiritual Leader  |
| <b>MAPU</b>                    | Physical (Water, Oceans, Mountains), Social and Spiritual Space or Dimension of the Mapuche World |
| <b>MENOKO</b>                  | Wetland   |
| <b>NGILLATUE</b>               | Religious Ceremonial Event  |
| <b>PALIN</b>                   | Game for Communal Meetings  |
| <b>PALIWE</b>                  | Name of the Site use For a Communal Game Called Palin   |
| <b>PEÑI</b>                    | Brother   |
| <b>PUELMAPU</b>                | Land of the East  |
| <b>RAMADA</b>                  | Orignally knoww as Panku – Temporary Shelter  |
| <b>REWE (REHUE)</b>            | Sacred Altar or Ceremonial Space Of Each Lof  |
| <b>RUCA</b>                    | House/ Family Unit  |
| <b>TRENG TRENG</b>             | Sacred Hill   |
| <b>WALLMAPUCHE</b>             | The Che that Inhabit the Wallmapu   |
| <b>WEICHAFE</b>                | Warrior   |

## Spanish

|                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| <b>BOSQUE</b>                    | Forest                                   |
| <b>COLONO</b>                    | Colonist                                 |
| <b>COMUNERO</b>                  | People Living in Communal Lands          |
| <b>HACIENDA</b>                  | Large State – Associated with Landowners |
| <b>HIJUELA</b>                   | Land Property Deed                       |
| <b>IDENTIDADES TERRITORIALES</b> | Territorial Identities                   |

|                              |                            |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <b>MESTIZO</b>               | Halfbreed                  |
| <b>REDUCCIONES</b>           | Reductions                 |
| <b>TEMPORERO</b>             | People With Temporary Jobs |
| <b>TITULOS DE<br/>MERCED</b> | Mercy Title                |

## ***Excerpt from research notes: The case of the Machi (healer) Francisca***

Francisca noticed that things were changing when on one occasion she came back from her job at the inter-cultural clinic and saw some trucks going up the sacred hill. This encroachment had started when the new owner came to the land.

The animals were not allowed to enter anymore. By 2007 he put an electric tower. They put antennas near us, not near their houses. These things bring cancer and diseases (Francisca, 02/2016).

In the second year Francisca heard the chainsaw ‘He was cutting the valley and started planting pine and eucalyptus’ (Francisca 02/2016) As a *machi* (traditional healer), she saw the *menoko* (wetland) getting dry, hence ruining the ecosystem and the life of the *menoko*. On the same day she called a friend of hers – a priest – and began a legal case against the new owner.

The case, ‘Linconao Francisca with Palermo Forestry’, brought about due to the illegal felling of trees and native bushes, represented the first time that the court ruled against the state of Chile for not applying Article 169 of the International Labour Organization. The effect was to validate the ancestral value of the water spring to Mapuche spirituality. This was a milestone for indigenous communities: collective rights, spiritual rights and territorial rights were recognized in a space where the community has no property over the land. The court did not rule, however, on the access of the Mapuche community to the protected the *menoko*. The court merely enforced a legal framework that had been broken<sup>1</sup> by the owner.

In 2013, the *machi* Francisca Linconao was accused of illegal possession of weapons and ammunition in relation to the assassination of the Luchsinger-Mackay landowner couple. This couple were the owners of another plot of land that the Linconao

---

<sup>1</sup> Palermo Forestry failed to present a ‘Forest Management Plan’ for the plantation of exotic trees to the CONAF (National Forestry Corporation) agency; and it also broke the regulation planting next to natural spring or water springs.

community has claimed ancestral rights over for more than ten years. She was released of all charges after several months of domiciliary arrest. However, in March 2016 Francisca was sent to jail again, formally accused of organising a terrorist arson attack which resulted in the death of the Luchsinger-Mackay couple. She believes it was Taladriz (owner of Palermo Forestry) that accused her.

They took me by force, they planted a weapon in my house, and they detained me and force me to take off my traditional clothing. It was a revenge for protecting the lawen (natural remedies) that live in the huincun (hill) (Francisca 02/2016).

The trial began on August 21<sup>st</sup> 2017. Until the end of the trial she is under domiciliary night arrest.



# Introduction

The story of the Machi Francisca recounts the emerging tensions taking place in the formation of the countryside of the Global South. As the story evolves, indigenous struggles for land are taking new forms. On the one hand, there are new uses, markets, technologies and actors involved in the governance of rural lands. On the other, lands are still claimed as ancestral by indigenous communities and are seen as invested with cosmological power and used as source of strength and healing. With the arrival of new technologies, land is available for resource extraction, such as mining and forestry, and as sites to install electric antennas or other energy generating/transporting devices. The new legal owners are companies that neither live in the land nor need to establish relations with the local people. As an enclave economy, the local population are more or less irrelevant for creating exchange value with their labour power, since the type of valorisation of the land does not depend on manual labour. Thus, fences take a new role by effectively becoming a material limit to all forms of access. Moreover, these fences produce a corporate space that is exclusive and excluding. No other activities can take place on the land, and no form of solidarity is formed with occupants of neighbouring lands. As a result, enclave extractive industries and their intensive exploitation of land fragment habitation and the livelihoods of its inhabitants. Customary practices of accessing neighbours' lands to reach wetlands for medicine or for the pasture of animals, under an extractive use of the land, are not permitted. But rather than remaining invisible, as the case of Francisca shows, rural inhabitants represent an obstacle or a possible threat to this new form of accumulation. The global disposition of people and lands under extractive capitalism produces new responses ranging from multicultural approaches under international rights to the criminalization of land conflicts. In contrast, for indigenous collectives, the arrival of this new form of extractive capitalism, affected the articulation of claims for land, now inscribed under an identity based political force expressed in demands of territorial rights.

The case of the Machi Francisca shows the limitations of positive rights and the constraints in thinking of land in terms of property. What has been defined as 'cultural' and 'spiritual' in the verdict is a quality of the forest or the indigenous medicinal plants,

however it is not recognised as a quality of the very subjects – the Mapuche people – who bestowed the sacred status on the land. For the Pedro Linconao community and Francisca, the successful resolution did not allow them the benefit of access to their ancestral land. Furthermore, it proved the ontological limitations of land as represented by a certain system of rights. Practices of giving rights to nature encounter limitations when the people who deemed the natural environment sacred in the first place are not allowed to interact with it. The ‘historic’ resolution deepened the competing debates between colonial rights and the new wave of neoliberal multicultural rights articulated by the pressure of global governance bodies.

While the resolution, in favour of protecting the wetland and suspending any logging in the perimeters, shifted in its ways from treating land as part of the dead world of objects – the means of production - to a part of the living world of objects and constitutive of social relations, nevertheless the people who granted land with those properties were not included in the resolution. This means that while land, as a living entity, can access rights, the relational approach to land is still truncated. The limitation of this resolution lies in the treatment of land, first as private property, secondly as an entity with intrinsic ancestral qualities. The issue at hand is that, while problematic, these two perceptions of land cannot coexist in the same place. If land is conceived as an appropriable object, exclusively valued by its economic means, then it will eventually collide with a notion of sacred land. In practical terms the resolution validating the sanctity of the space became an oxymoron– all relations became restricted: the owner could not exploit the land and dispose it in the best of its abilities to extract value from it and the community were not granted access to it to care for that relation. Now the site is abandoned. The owner as an act of revenge left the gate open and people are entering and plundering the hill, while the Machi has been accused of terrorism. This thesis investigates the new forms of the global commodification of land and its resistances. Previously, many rural areas lay outside the scope of state and capital allowing the polysemic meaning of land to persist and a heterogeneous world to survive. However, the current phase of capitalist development has seen these places redefined as ‘abandoned or ‘under-used’ lands. So, while these become an *asset* for the global market, people living these places represent an *obstacle* for development. This gives rise in the Global South to land acquisition involving a new round of

displacement of rural people and further transformation of rural inhabitancy and its related ecosystems.

## **Aim of the Thesis**

The origins of this thesis emerge from a political interest in supporting marginal populations' struggles. Current contestation over land has reframed the pathologized language of disposable peoples under the 'global war on terror' - from lazy, vagabonds, barbarians and outcasts to criminals and terrorists, 'all of whom are always fully racialized' (Escobar 2004, p.98). In the Rural South, land struggles have been portrayed by the media and state forces as terrorist attacks and other forms of criminal profiling. Under this guise, rural contestation and violence in the countryside has been described simply as security issues. It should not be a surprise that during 2015, 185 killings of 'land and environmental defenders'<sup>2</sup> were registered across 16 countries, the majority coming from Latin America and South-East Asian countries (Annex 6)<sup>3</sup>. Following the research from Correa and Mella, by 2012 in Chile alone, 40 indigenous communal leaders and activists were accused of terrorism and 145 prosecuted for property trespassing, arson and illicit terrorist association (2012, p.305-14).

While in abstract terms, land is dominated by notions of private property, the struggle over access, rights, and sovereignty, and control over land – to mention some possible relations – explains more than a desire to 'own' land. A long-standing concern about peoples' right to place and historical connections to land guides this work. While rural communities and indigenous communities in particular are becoming the target of state criminalization and corporate assassinations, they are having significant impact in defending forests, rivers and other commons. I will argue that indigenous movements and environmental protectors are becoming the most important voices in opposing deforestation and extractive capitalism. Yet these communities are also at the forefront of land struggles in the capacity of defending other ontological approaches to land

---

<sup>2</sup> Defined as people struggling to protect land, forest and rivers through peaceful actions.

<sup>3</sup> Indigenous people amounted for the majority of the victims representing a 40%. Extractive industries were link with most of the killing (Global witness 2016, p.5)

articulated in non-statist notions of sovereignty that can become effective strategies in deterring the rapacious advancement of capitalism in space. As such, the overarching aim of this thesis is to pay attention to these processes, and show how other ways of treating, thinking and knowing land can produce new geographies, shaping the ways we relate to each other.

The arrival to the neoliberal model of globalization in South America was articulated by what Naomi Klein coined the *shock doctrine* (2007). It applies to the use of violence and social collective ‘shocks’ (as it was the period of dictatorships in the Latin American region 1970s-1990s) to introduce radical transformation to the national economy without resistance. In the last 10-20 years this economic transformation started to show its effect over landed relations. Land concentration has increased but also changed. A new type of oligarchy is dominating the Rural South represented by transnational corporations. Guided by the demands of the global market, the expansion of the land frontier is oriented to the multiplication of sites for open pit mining and the expansion of soybean and forestry plantation. This is a new intensive form of land use that is having grave effects on the ground, such as the increase of land erosion, that is also affecting the social reproduction of local inhabitants and in the most extreme cases their bodies as well<sup>4</sup>. Finally, land concentration and change of land use have coincided with an increase in migration to urban settings and unemployment. As a result, to date according to the Oxfam study ‘Unearthed: land, power and inequality in Latin America’ (2016), South America counts as the most unequal region in the world in terms of land distribution with Chile (0.91) second in the ranking<sup>5</sup>.

The advancement of the corporate interest in land is taking over more than properties in a large scale. This is because the extractive activity developed in rural spaces is not a type of industry but a model of development in which the global market commands local territorial formations. Thus, rural restructuring led by extractive capitalism does

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<sup>4</sup> In Argentina mortality rates related to cancer and birth with malformations have increased in rural and peri-urban areas that belong to the farm belt of agro-industrial soy and corn production (Avila Vazquez and Nota 2010) for full report check [reduas.com.ar](http://reduas.com.ar)

<sup>5</sup> Following a Gini coefficient method, Oxfam’s study concluded that Paraguay (0.93) was the most unequal country in land distribution followed by Chile (0.91) (Annex 7).

not only represent just a change in hands over private property, but also, as I will go on to argue, changes the relations to land. For rural Mapuche people, the advancement of the forestry sector in Araucanía is one of the major threats to the survival of their culture and way of life. For rural indigenous communities, it is not just the use of the land that is being transformed but their habitat, wellbeing and the possibilities for social reproduction. The multiple resources that land can provide – such as culture, food, energy, habitation, to mention only some - become endangered when its materiality becomes disciplined to be exclusively dominated by its productive potential. Land's multiple dimensions (spatial, material, and cosmological) are threatened by making land a strange thing from its place and its people. Examples of towns re-identified as 'mining' towns, 'soybean village' or 'forestry' province express 'representation of places' and 'places of representation' (Lefebvre 1991, p.45) that become alien from people's identities, practices and cultures to even become re-named as extractive towns.

## **Research question**

However, it is under the emergence of new forms of land exploitation and technologies that 'land waste' becomes 'wasted lands' and relevant for capitalism (Goldstein 2013, p.387). The transformation of the value of land, to one of extractive appreciation, is that historical boundaries become contested and the lines between modern and colonial (or centre and periphery) gains flexibility. Historically relegated lands that were used for the confinement of indigenous people are now at the centre of resource extraction capitalism and global financial interest. Under the contestation around these marginal lands this thesis asks: How is extractive capitalism transforming landed relations in the Global South? A series of secondary research questions follow: How is racial spatial ordering affected by the advancement of extractive capitalism over the governance of peripheral lands in the Global South? How do corporate/financial capital and ancestral land claims resist and negotiate in the conformation of the global rural landscape? In sum, what kind of sociability is being developed under this new form of rurality? To answer, I will develop a conceptual framework that presents the meaning and value of land as contested, flexible, and historically determined.

## Conceptual Approach

The current process of land acquisition taking place across the Global South has mostly been studied from a Marxist point of view using theoretical devices such as land grabbing (The Journal of Peasant Studies 2010-2015) and capitalist enclosure (collective Midnight Notes 1990), spatial fix (Harvey 2001) and accumulation by dispossession (Harvey 2005) to explain the concentration of land by the interest of global capital. However, as I will go on to argue in greater depth, what remains problematic in these approaches is that land is still treated as an abstract thing with its 'natural' attribute of means of production. Under classic Marxist lenses, land is seen as a resource that under extractive capitalism transforms its role from use value to exclusively exchange value, but no other entity is attributed to it.

In contrast, this thesis follows a more complex relational approach to land beyond the commodity form. It considers the persistence of colonial structures of power to explain the phenomenon of the conflictual juxtaposition between the ancestral attachment to land and the new spatial modes of global capitalism to extract value. From this perspective, I relate the two aspects – land in its 'intrinsic' qualities (sacred, ancestral, so on) and private property - to the same point of origin and current development of land conflicts in the region.

The case of the Machi Francisca developed in the central-south area of Chile called the Araucanía. This is important because not all lands share the same history, and geography is meaningless without history. It is under the colonial conquest of the 'new' continent (imperial invasions) and the postcolonial continuation of colonialism under a nation-state system that land's materiality acquires these properties of extractive value and historical attachment. In the historical transition between the colonial America to the modern America a twofold process took place. On one hand, land became a scarce resource, on the other, a historical relation. An 'ancestral time' (Cusicanqui, 2010, p.12) became an 'intrinsic' quality of specific lands simultaneously to the development of land as private property with the establishment of a nation state territory.

In contrast to Europe's land history, where the main practice for the formation of private property and expansion as a hegemonic form was the separation of people from land (Marx 1995, p.673), in postcolonial contexts private property relations were enabled by the fixation and confinement of people to land (Mezzadra, 2006, p.2). This thesis argues that the forceful allocation of peoples to bounded land played a foundational role for the continuation of a colonial social structure of racialised power relations. Following this premise, modern societies have been organized in the intersection between race and land cementing a racist colonial system in space. But moreover, landed theory became constitutive in a production of knowledge that linked geography and race as intrinsic and spatiality determined properties (Moore 2005, p.15). Hence, land and people became attributed with intrinsic and exchangeable qualities. Interchangeable categorization such as waste land, marginal lands, unproductive lands, savage or marginal people, explains the discourse formation of the spatialization of violence through the prism of race. But, the production of the 'racialization of space' and 'spatialization of race' (Moore 2005, McIntyre and Nast, 2011, Lipsitz 2007) operated as a strategic disciplinary form for the capitalist mode of production within the framework of nation-state territories. As such the institutionalization of private property constituted a technology of power (Foucault 1991) that permitted for a racial spatial order that established a differential exploitation of bodies and lands according to the production of a racial hierarchy.

Key to my arguments throughout the thesis is extrapolating not only the limitations the notion of land as property as a framework for looking at land conflicts in Latin America, but to claim that it compounds a problematic and misleading logic around land relations as such. Landed property as a relation implies an ideological discursive and material project that covers a more complex role subjugating nature and people to a global capitalist project (Coronil 2000, p.248). The property paradigm enforces the domination of capitalist reproduction by eliminating other relations to land that would enable other ways of being (Li 2014, Blomley 2013). As a political project in space, the theoretical principles of modern property relations guided the formatting of a legal system of exclusion that responded to a national authority. It institutionalized a regime of land based on the productive tenancy of land following a competitive, and exploitative relation between people and with land at the world scale (Santos 1988;

Lefebvre 1991). In postcolonial states, for indigenous people, property relations meant the disposition of their bodies and lands as parameters for the modernization of the nation. Their colorized marking as indigenous defined their bodies and lands as boundaries of the modern, fixing their subject position in an archaic past (Escobar, 2008, Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010, Dussel 1993). Fixation to land for the native population, rather than developing as part of the formation of citizenship and positive rights, operated as a colonial artefact. With this temporal and spatial fixing in postcolonial geographies, native people and land became recognised as needing to be to be civilized and made productive.

I take a decolonial approach (Rivera Cusicanqui 2010, Machado 2014, de Sousa Santos 2009, Segato 2007, Mignolo 2010, Escobar 2008, Coronil 2000), which I understand as a programmatic project of breaking with the modern Eurocentric rationality of enlightenment, to expose the political articulation of the notion of race in spatial disciplinary ordering. I use the concept of enclosure as a key theoretical device not to revise one historical violent episode in bringing land to the realm of political-economy, also known as primitive accumulation, but to consider enclosure as a permanent feature of modern political technologies for social ordering. As such enclosure is conceptualised not simply as a capitalist endeavour for land dispossession, but as a racial, hierarchical and patriarchal ordering of bodies, space and land. This is captured by literature which understands enclosure's spatiality beyond simply its capitalist uses to include it in its productive regulatory role in developing societies in space (Sevilla Buitrago 2015). Enclosure as a spatial device operates as means for the constant violent accomodation of landed relations in line with ideological projects and structural changes.

But practices of enclosure can be produced in multiple directions. Indigenous ancestral memories of an autonomous past and recent memories of agrarian reforms (Cusicanqui 2010) also ignites geographical imaginations of resistant enclosure. Agitated by those memories, current practices of self-enclosure developed in the context of resistance to the expansion of extractive capitalism. Inspired by Michel Foucault's approach to enclosure as a disciplinary spatial technology (Foucault 1991, p.141) this thesis explores practices of 'counter' enclosure taking place in the Global



South, using the key case of Araucanía in Chile to see how resistance to extractive capitalism is also contributing in the moulding of what this thesis calls the ‘Modern-colonial countryside’.

The geographical position of the South also requires establishing a historiography (Mignolo 2000, Coronil 2000). Either through its imperial mission or political technologies, violence remains as the main logic for dispossession and extraction (Blomley 2003, Comaroff 2001, Federici 2004, and Machado 2014). The Global South remains as a colonial target following the differential structural character of violence in the system of exploitation, dispossession and extraction of people and lands. Under the colonial persistence in rural space and indigenous resistance, I develop the notion of the modern-colonial countryside to explore the transformation of landed relations under globalization.

## **Modern-colonial countryside**

A new wave of resistance movements is occurring in the contested space of the ‘global countryside’ (Woods 2007). Michael Woods defines an emergent ‘global countryside’ as:

A rural realm constituted by multiple, shifting, tangled and dynamic networks, connecting rural to rural and rural to urban, but with greater intensities of globalization processes and of global interconnections in some rural localities than in others, and thus with a differential distribution of power, opportunity and wealth across rural space (2007, p.491).

Following Woods, the globalization of the countryside is not a given space, it is under a contested transformation where people struggle to keep producing their places – comprising the non-human environment and the conditions of social reproduction. Particularly in the Global South, territorial movements – including peasants, landless and rural workers – entangled in colonial and postcolonial vestiges of enclosure (i.e. *latifundia* and private property systems) are encountering new global practices of

enclosure (land grabbing) that are transforming the relations between land and people. The tension generated by global capital from above and local movements from below is laid bare on material land. The different forms of land governance among global capital, modern-states and communal indigenous movements unleash a new 'geometry of power' in a long history of land contestation. I am referring here to the concept as developed by Doreen Massey (1991) that defines power's movement in relation to flows and fixity. I use it here to introduce globalization to the rural world but from the specific historical experience of postcolonial geographies.

While the 'global countryside' acknowledges a geographical unevenness in the impact of globalization on rural places, I propose to depart from the Global South and highlight the historical specificities of the formation of rural places in the axis of 'colonial power' (Quijano 2010). I follow Anibal Quijano's proposal used in decolonial thinking that explains colonial power as a system of power founded in a racial hierarchical classification of the world population also annexed to a system of capitalist accumulation and selective exploitation of bodies and lands.

Hence, even though formal colonialism is over, every dimension, space, scale – material and subjective – of social order and everyday life is 'founded in the imposition of a racial/ethnic classification of the world population as a cornerstone of such pattern' (Quijano 2007, p.93). Spatially, coloniality in Latin America marks the first global approach to capitalism in the form of a racialised enclosure. The notion of coloniality exposes the current subjugation over other life forms. Under the perspective of coloniality I rather propose to look to what I call the modern-colonial countryside to emphasise the colonial dimensions in landed relations operating in the formation of the Global Rural South.

Using a coloniality framework, my analytical scope expands beyond the twenty and twenty-first century period described as 'neoliberal' defined by the expansion of resource-extraction industries in the Rural South to explore how extractive capitalism is transforming landed relations in the Global South. Instead, this thesis situates itself historically within the formation of nation-state territory and the production of the *country-side*. The Araucanía (or Patagonia for Argentina) became classified as rural

with their annexation to the national territory and was assigned to be the *side* of the country to provide food and natural resource production for the national economy. This transition of colonial relations to modern governance marks the establishment of modern (legal) apparatuses of domination and exploitation that spatialized colonial rule. Simultaneously to the spatial legal formatting of land is the formation of indigenous rural communities. The formation of ancestral lands are the result of the violent confinement and fixity of native population, which constituted the material spatial condition for the formation of the country-*side*. So, while ethnic communal fixing became the most effective means to discipline indigenous population in the nineteenth century, arriving to the twenty-first century it exceeded its mission to become sites of resistance. Nowadays, indigenous people around the world are claiming the return of their ancestral lands. Communal land became the place of social, cultural and material recovery and reinvention, making land a symbol of political resistance (Caniqueo Huircapan 2011, Molina 2012, Martinez Berrios 2012, Toledo Llancacheo 2005, Le bonniec 2005, Ruiz 2003). But to explore the current moment of land relations encountering new land enclosures it is necessary to reflect on both the changing position of the postcolonial subject and its land. For this I develop a theoretical framework using Henri Lefebvre's work on Rural Sociology (1956) and Foucault's enclosure developed in the art of distribution in *Discipline and Punish* (1991) in order to rematerialize land beyond its commodity form and elaborate the complex role played by land in organizing social relations and affecting subject formation.

## **Analytical framework**

Thinking of land in dialectical terms, the approach I take interrelates different histories of knowledge, discourses and practices. Under this movement I critically enquire into the complexity of the notion of land beyond the prism of a geography of resources and enable other imaginations. I use Lefebvre's dialectic in order to explore the relations between the colonial and the modern in the making of the countryside. With this method in mind, it is possible to move dialectically from the abstract to the concrete, from theory to reality, to question the concepts and the material enactments that made land as property a universal truth and explore the instability of property relations from above and below. Giving relevance to land (in relation to capital and

labour) this thesis recovers the location of the ‘South’ and its natural resources as a constitutive and enabling part of modernity (Coronil 2000, pp.248-9). To understand the current forms in which extractive capitalism is spatialized, this thesis follows Lefebvre’s method by historicizing land relations and revisiting site specific struggles.

I utilise Foucault’s understanding of enclosure, against its Marxist economic simplification, as a political technology of power (1977) to supplement Lefebvre’s conceptual framework of rural sociology. I develop an approach to land enclosure as an ontological frame in order to (re)think the multiple notions of land. Land enclosure in a Foucauldian register covers a role of a specific mode of subjection (Foucault, 1991, p.24) and a site of power contestation. Bodies, lands, materials and technologies of enclosure become enrolled in producing discourses and material enactments of different notions of land articulated to different political projects and imaginations. Enclosure in its different forms explains the emergence of *land as patrimony* and *land as territory*, two notions that I elaborated while doing fieldwork. These represent a novel understanding of the different experiences of land articulated by state agents, corporations and resisting communities. Indigenous rural communities attempting to recover ancestral land adapt to these enclosures under a changing economy of alterity between racialized fixes and displacement. Under this registry, the ancestral attachment to land explains land as a site of power – power understood both in terms of being affected and being able to affect - encompassed in lived memories and everyday experience. This powerful bond between people and land unlocks a communal approach to look at spatial contestation, not in terms of the emergence of a priori ‘natural’ bond but as a political strategy emerging out of constraints, opportunities and needs. As such, it explains the distinct attachment to land emerging from particular political struggles offering a way to explain land as a site of resistance.

## **Methodology and sources**

I employed a qualitative approach in this thesis. This was to understand the transformation of land relations under the advancement of extractive capitalism. I worked with several qualitative methods, using different forms of engagement

depending on the group, the setting and the needs and availability of the stakeholders. I spent a total of six months in the Araucanía –two separate periods of three months between 2014 and 2016. My fieldwork consisted of working with the three main stakeholders competing and negotiating for land access and control – forestry corporations, state agencies and Mapuche rural communities.

Gaining access was one of the most challenging aspects of the research. For the collection of data, I started with a) multi-sited ethnography with the Coñuequir Panguilef family (September 2014) and b) elite interviews with the state development Forestry Corporation (CORFO), the wood corporation (CORMA), Forestal ARAUCO and Bosques CAUTIN. In a second phase, I then continued with participant observation (ARAUCO Forestry, January 2016) and non-participant observation with Corporation of Indigenous Development cultural section in the Araucanía, (CONADI, January 2016). Due to security reasons and time constraints, I was not able to gain direct access to squatting communities. Given these circumstances, I used my network from CONADI, Mapuche academics and Forestry Stewardship Council (FSC) who contributed as key informants to explore squatting situations. Of particular importance was one interview conducted with Mapuche Forestry engineer Pablo Waikilao, a representative for the FSC in Chile, who also worked as mediator with squatting communities occupying forestry patrimony. His experience in negotiating settings with squatting Mapuche rural communities and his knowledge about the methods of resistance of squatting communities offered a first-hand testimony of the experience of rural squatting beyond the corporate perspective.

In terms of sources, I worked mostly with official state documents, as a basis for insights into state discourse as well as Mapuche claims. The data used in this thesis comes from national demographics (CASEN), national forestry statistics (National Forestry Corporation and Chile Forestry Institute), Forestry Law, official colonial titles (Mercy Titles), CONADI's anthropological reports and Mapuche property data from CONADI. I analysed these documents in order to investigate the discursive treatment of land as economic units, forests, plantations, properties, and demographics (see Chapter III). While this kind of data reflects and performs a role for the substantiation of state's knowledge and truth production over their land, these data are not one sided.

Mapuche communities also use these tools for their own material claims for access to land, water and subsidies. For example, I used the archives of the Chilean National Library for historical maps of the Araucanía developed from the first naturalist explorations by Claude Gay (1842, 1871) and Amadeo Pissis (1875) to illustrate the production of a state narrative over the Araucanía's land as an empty and wild space. I also looked at historical treaties, discourses and paintings from the nineteenth century that have been used as evidence to validate Mapuche claims and memories (i.e: The Treaty of Quilin, 1641 - Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno, 1485)<sup>6</sup>. Furthermore, I worked with oral histories (from communities in Temulemu and Trankura) and secondary sources that elaborated data with participatory methods, (CEPAL 2012, Correa and Mella, 2012, Viera Bravo 2015) and NGO reports on the expansion of plantations (Global Forest Watch, World Rainforest Movement 2014, Engineers for the Native Forest) and communal mapping documentation (Pablo Mariman, Viera Bravo) that considers landscape transformation and social impact on the extractive industries reflecting upon local population experiences. The use of multiple methods was a result of the continuous search for appropriate strategies to gain most effective access during two periods of fieldwork between 2014- 2016.

It is important as well to acknowledge my own position in doing this research as an Argentinian Jewish woman researching from Europe but with no grant to share. This created some tensions on the fieldwork with communities and institutions. In my experience, and after talking with several academics in the region (such as Jorge Calbucura, Martin Correa, Nelson Martinez Berrios, Sergio Caniuqueo Huircapan)<sup>7</sup>, I

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<sup>6</sup> References of two historical events articulated by some Mapuche movements as part of the Mapuche national memory: the first one is the parliamentary treaty between native population and Spanish colonial forces in the Araucanía, and the second, is the battle of native peoples from the Araucanía with the army of the Inca Empire. Both documents analysed in Chapter III.

<sup>7</sup> These four researchers, activist and academics met with me in different instances of my research and supported me in different ways. Jorge Calbucura open up part of his own personal network after meeting me in a conference called 'Struggles over Resources in Latin America' (June 2015). After sharing with him my first exploratory experience on the ground, he guided me in to how navigate power dynamics working in the region. Martin Correa offered me part of his personal archive of interview work with communities. Nelson Martinez had informal meetings with me teaching me about the development of critical geography in the region. Finally Sergio Caniuqueo Huircapan, offered me

learned that the southern activist Mapuche community behaves like the communities affected by the land reservation process during the military conquest of 1859-1880. Calbucura used the term 'Mapuche intellectual reservation', to explain that all social movements, parties and communities are not necessarily in a relationship of solidarity nor one of enmity; but that they sometimes behave like they were competing for a small parcel of land. The region of Araucanía is a highly contested political space. My own positionality became an issue at times: as a woman, not from Chile but not European, and as a student with no funding – boasting of nothing concrete to offer those who invested in me. At times, an open conversation depended on a previous scrutiny of my identity- this was done by checking my last name origins, political positioning, by circles and so on. There were also competitions of knowledge and legitimate rights to be admitted to the niche. In contrast, with forestry corporations, coming from Europe was a point of access.

Theoretically, the thesis allied with thinkers that pushed to deal with the concrete subject – not the idealized (the good native) or the one located in linguistic mental space (in Lefebvre's terms). However, the theoretical framework is not elaborated on the basis of a geographical determinism between North and South, which is why I am interested in using Lefebvre and Foucault in conversation with Latin American critical theory. This is because, similar to Aymaran sociologist Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui's conceptualisation of the modern dimensions of indigeneity as one of entanglement with modern practices in places (2012, p.96) in the same vein, I understand knowledge production as an entanglement of flows and fixities and a productive encounter between different Western and non-Western traditions. Rather than separate, reinforcing, geographical truths, it is important to connect knowledge, discourse and practice in a decolonial integrative project, ultimately also aiming to disarm hierarchical and racial prescriptive formats of knowledge productions.

## Key arguments and Contributions

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support sharing his network, gatekeeper and a friend. We debated extensively about decolonial thinking and the contradictions, horizons and potentials of land squatting.

Since the ‘discovery’ of America, enclosure practices have simplified conceptions of the continent’s land into ‘property’ and ‘resource’, and, in International Relations as territory. Other understandings of, and relations to, land have been banalised, marginalised, made invisible – and attacked (Toledo Llancacheo 2005, Escobar 2008). This thesis uses the concept of enclosure in order to recover a history of other ontologies of land, and challenge the natural perception of land as property. It proposes to explore new forms of enclosure as material enactment of the development of new social relations, new meanings of lands, and attributes. However, I do not argue within a binary framework of a ‘pure’ or original set of land relations ascribed to indigenous groups, in opposition to an exploitative and corrupt land relations carried out by corporate and state actors, nor stage a historical battle between ancestral and economic paradigms. This thesis argues that land definitions are exerted in competing land practices, all of which are founded in various and contrasting forms of violence or force.

I build on decolonial theory (Anibal Quijano 2010, Walter Mignolo 2010,2012) and postcolonial theory (Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui 2010, 2012 and Arturo Escobar 2008, Fernando Coronil 1997, 2000) approaching the material and the everyday in order to explain contestations of space through different deployments of notions of land. By looking at historical and contemporary practices of enclosure used as technologies of disciplinary ordering for land governance as well as of resistance, I argue that land enclosure continues to perform a semantic and epistemological role in the way we experience the world. Hence I explain why land contestation is today treated as a national security threat and is becoming a challenge to the governance of the postcolonial countryside. This study aims to make a significant contribution in understanding land beyond its commodity forms and recognizing other social bonds rooted in land.

Under these structural contingencies, I argue that territory understood as a political technology (Elden 2010) is losing its hegemonic role in ordering racialized bodies fixed to land according to the principles of property relations. Under the dominance of global markets, the impact of extractive industries and the expansion of enclave



economies in rural settings the role of nation states is losing ground in governmental practices. Therefore, it is in these other spatial enclosures – plantation, reservations, and national heritage sites – where this research explores the new colonial dimension of landed relations. In these sites a new project of government and mode of ruling over rural spaces is affecting the synchronicity between racialized bodies and land. The proliferation of this new extractive geography changes the necessary continuum between centre and periphery, marginal land and racialized bodies and national territory. These corporate spatial archipelagos are contesting the hegemonic position of landed property relations and its enlightened, productive and racialized enclosure of land. The corporate enclosure of land in the modern-colonial countryside attempts to empty land from all social content and expand the ‘sacrificable’ or ‘expendable’ zones (Svampa, 2008, p.8). As such, it dislodges the political role of land as ‘both the site and stake of struggle’ (Elden 2010a, p.806), affecting the hegemonic configuration of state space. But these spaces are also contested by communal resistance, also attempting to enclose those same lands to define them as identity sites for the production of political subjects.

Finally, this thesis argues that ‘resistant enclosures’ changes the conditions of the modern landscape in the inclusion of difference. Under this scheme colonial violence still remains the driving force organizing social relation in the modern-colonial countryside. This is, the framing of colorized people and lands, to fix, displace, and extract, remains the main productive disposition for accumulation and extraction. The new enclosure of the modern-colonial countryside do not search, however for a potential ‘break’ from coloniality but it explores new assemblages. Using race as a boundary for enclosure is still problematic. The exacerbation of racial difference as means for inclusion and exclusion it is not necessarily a radical solution. It can reify notions of differential access and reinforces notions of racist social spatial order. However, as the framework of enclosure permits, it is not in the border<sup>8</sup>, but in ‘the social practice’ (Cusicanqui 2012, pp.98), that the enclosure acquires meaning.

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<sup>8</sup> I am using the concept of border in its more ordinary sense of a line creating an inside/outside. For a more complex understanding of border politics look at Nick Vaughan-Williams (2009)

## Outline of the thesis

The thesis is organized in the following manner. Chapter I is a literature review of the historiography of land in Western political thought, conceived as an appropriable object, and exclusively valued by its economic means. This chapter further explores how land became articulated as a juridical entity (land titles); by international law (terra nullis - imperial discoveries) (Grotius, 2005) and philosophically (natural law and social contract, mathematical reason –Descartes) (Locke, 1982). It has also been interpreted as modern state territory (political, security and fiscal system), and as political economy (Marx 1970, Harvey 2001). All framings of land that creates the conditions for the formation of the capitalist system at a world scale and the suppression of any form of relation to land. This chapter ends with an account of current theoretical approaches that explain the current pressures on marginal land in the Rural South. The critical approach of extractivism as outlined by Escobar 2008, Svampa 2012, 2013, Gudynas 2012 and Machado 2014 will guide this thesis to explain the broader impact of land commodification that will link to the colonial dimensions of spatial relations in rural geographies.

Chapter II explores how land's economic function is far from being its only one. The upsurge in incidents in postcolonial geographies of land grabbing and extractive economies and social movement resistance exposes how land is still contested materiality and conceptually. Other forms of producing land are generating other forms of power in space. New modes of enclosure establishing for the placement of extractive economies in rural spaces are affecting the way land is experienced. Inscription devices, such as hedges and fences and novel enclosure technologies like commodities 'do more than simple record the presence of land as a resource' (Li 2014, p.589), they are constitutive in assembling specific social relations and ways of being in the world. Chapter II introduces the theoretical framework of this thesis with Lefebvre's rural sociology (1978) and Foucault's technologies of enclosure (1991). The final section discusses the philosophical underpinning that brings attention to the limitations of these two European authors in their scope and methods and situates the thesis in postcolonial geographies. With the help of secondary sources (Li 2014, Blomley 2013, Moore 2005), I adapt Foucault's approach to analyse enclosure in the

rural setting and Lefebvre's work on communal fixity to land from the perspective of racialized enclosures and ethnic spatial fixing (Moore 2005, p.153).

Having framed the role of land in a dialectical movement between the social and the structure in organizing rural life, Chapter III addresses current contestations of modern-colonial landed relations. I present a scheme of two contesting forms of landed relations emerging in the context of the Araucanía, competing with the hegemony of property relations. Through the use of archival work, secondary sources, ethnography and interview work I developed the concepts of *land as territory* and *land as patrimony*. Land as patrimony from above and land as territory from below will be explored as part of a dialect of landed relations articulated around an imagination and an ideology, a system and a practice. *Land as patrimony* emerges as a novel form of land governance, linked to the expansion of the global market over the Global South under the hand of state forces that disregards any social existence – and no need of labour to valorise its capital. *Land as territory* departs from the Western understanding of territory and becomes a reaction to it. It shows that 200 years of imposed enclosure (colonial invasion) made the loss of land so prevalent that it became part of the oral history an ideological principle of indigenous claims in the Americas. The combination of the 'long memory' and 'short memory' (Cusicanqui 2010) around the loss of land -referring to the anticolonial struggles and agrarian reform movements -became a valuable discursive resource for radical alterity.

In Chapter IV different regimes of enclosure (Sevilla-Buitrago, 2012) are historicised using the case of Araucanía. Although almost all land around the world is already enclosed as modern property within the nation-state system, this chapter explores current technologies of spatial governance that are challenging the social role of land and people's relationship with it. This chapter concludes that these emerging forms are defying the regimes of modern property and the state form that sustains it.

Presenting land as a site of resistance, Chapter V explores the power of land in affecting others and oneself. Looking at five instances of resistance I develop a typology of alternative enclosure of communal land. In the assemblage between communities, governing bodies and land, three distinct strategies for access to land are

developed. Access to land as property, patrimony, and territory respectively develop specific discourses and material enactments that this chapter develops through the presentation of different case studies. Reaching access to each one of these representations of land will motorise a series of practices and production of meaning from which governing bodies and communities will negotiate and perform. Validation around the notion of what constitutes the ancestral, the use of the land and subjectivity are the crucial elements of the production of these resistant enclosures.

## Conclusion

Returning to Lefebvre, under the modern-colonial countryside land becomes a politically contested matter. I argue that the advancement of industrial technologies over rural peripheral lands does not expand in forming property relations but disturbs them. I will explain this process by showing how modern enclosure still performs a semantic and epistemological role in the way we experience the world. As a result, this study contributes significantly to an understanding of land beyond its commodity form and explores other social bonds rooted in land.

When Henri Lefebvre thought of the ‘right to the city’ (1996) he was talking about the capacity of people to appropriate the city, moulding it in its dwelling. Paraphrasing Lefebvre, ‘the right to *land*’ invites to open the imagination to think of other forms to be in the land. In the postcolonial context, this means to explore how the spatialization of race could defy disciplinary confinement and become a way for generating a project of self-management (*autogestion*). This is a study about the right to *belong* to land. I propose that instead of thinking of land belonging to someone, they should think that people belong to the land and from there, imagine what other relations are possible.

# Chapter I Land as Property

*The maps lies. The traditional geography steals space  
Just as the imperial economy steals wealth,  
Official history steals memory and formal culture steals the world  
(Eduardo Galeano, Patas Arriba)*

## Introduction

In the last 30-40 years, a renewed land rush has been happening worldwide with the incorporation of peripheral lands into extractive capitalist industries that are affecting the relations between people and lands. In the Global South, lands on the margins of the global market are becoming a new asset for extractive industries. This new type of enclosure also labelled as land grabbing articulates a different relation to land. This mode of enclosure does not separate land from people to put them at work, but rather clears the ground from any social existence for land valorisation. This new enclosure does not incorporate people to exploit them, but instead treats them as an obstacle for its realization. In other words, the advancement of industrial technologies over rural peripheral lands, I argue, does not expand in forming property relations but disturbs them. In the advancement of the commodification of the soil, subsoil, water and air, these new enclosures shape a new spatial ordering changing social relations to land. As Lefebvre anticipated in 1978, land and ownership reemerge as a central issue for societies and markets at the world scale (1991, p.323). Under the expansion of a new mode of production advancing over indigenous ancestral land, governance of land and people takes new shapes in entanglement between new and old actors, such as global corporations, communities and state administrators. Different ensembles of rule result in these processes, producing multiple rationalities beyond calculation and exchange. Under the emergence of new forms of (dis)possession and relations to land and the revitalization of old forms of relations to land, this thesis argues there is an urgent need to revise established notions of land and to offer alternative conceptualizations of land

and the social relations produced by its discourses and enactments. These new enclosures throw a new dimension to explore contestation over the modern landscape of the rural Global South by making visible the naturalized hegemonic relations to land (i.e.: private property) that have been historically challenged by indigenous populations. Under this new setting this thesis addresses the central research question, how is extractive capitalism transforming landed relations in the Global South?

The aim of this Chapter is to explore the assemblage of *land as property*, conceived as an object available for appropriation, exclusively valorised by its economic means. This chapter shows the limitation of property relations to explain the changing patterns of capitalism in space. Rather than discard this approach to explain the influence of extractive capitalism in the making of the countryside, its limitations will tell us a great deal about the new spatial dispositions of capitalism. Looking at the historical role played by property relations in the territorialisation of capitalism so far it will help this thesis to elucidate why, under the current capitalist development, property relations are not functional anymore to the global commodification of land.

I investigate land as property as an historical construct from the perspective of the main theories that, willingly or not, sedimented the notion of landed property relations. The historiography to be developed in this chapter outlines the theoretical framework of this thesis that treats landed theory being also constitutive of the enactment of the world. It is for that reason that private property is treated in this thesis as a limited framework to explain land conflict in the Rural South. These arguments are important not merely because they see current conflicts in the Global South as part of a historical lineage, but also because they enable an exploration of property relations as the production of socio-spatial morphologies in the interaction of actors, political projects and, structures and technologies. The conceptual and historical approach to private property and its application in the American continent also aims to challenge the paradigm of private property relations and the domination of the economic sphere to explain land conflicts in the Global South. As I argue throughout the thesis, land struggles in the Global South are a contestation not just for land as a resource. Land covers other roles beyond the economic drive that I will discuss in chapter III. However, before reaching to land's other affordances, this chapter will deconstruct the

dominant conceptualisation of land as property and explore the ideological and material implications of the production of its relations.

In this chapter, I present the main discussions about how land has been reviewed narrowly as property in liberal and main Marxist traditions, as well as the functioning of the concept of property in world making. I explore the larger implication of the production of land as property framing social relations in market relations, its role in the formation of modern territory in the Latin American context, and the current transformations of property relations under the advancement of new forms of capitalism in the Rural South on the world scale. To explore the effects of land as property over social relations, this chapter is divided in three sections: Land Abstraction, Land Separation and Land Commodification. While these categories are interwoven and operate simultaneously they are analytically separated in order to explore and describe the makings of this complex concept.

In the Land Abstraction section, I assess the dominant view of land as private property from classic liberal theory and Marxism. I present how the theorizations of Political Economy (Locke 1690, Smith 1776), International Political Economy (Grotius 1625) and its critics (Marx 1867) elaborated the land question to be ruled by abstraction in either juridical, political and/or the economic realm. While private property and its Marxist interpretation contributed to the sedimentation of this abstraction, nevertheless landed property relations also produce real material landscapes. In this section, I also engage with the material and social enrolments for the establishment of landed property relations. The epistemological, material and social effect over the instalment of private landed property relations explains its effects beyond a landscape scenery adaptation. In recovering the historical and political formation of this concept and specific form of landed relations, I challenge the normalisation of landed property relations and expose how it became a means for the establishment of a determined social reality in the everyday experience. As such, the socio-spatial ordering of landed property relations in the Latin American context can be explored as a tool for a civilising mission rather than the natural tendency of human development.

The second section of the chapter, Land Separation, recounts the materialist critique of the formation of landed property relations. In Marx's genesis of capitalism, enclosure appears as a key tool for the separation of people and lands from which land became private property in a simultaneous process of simplification, homogenization and commodification. I continue the treatment of land in Marxist thought by looking at the Agrarian Question (Lenin 1901 and Kautsky 1899 and Mariátegui 1928). This section concludes by welcoming the contribution of Marxist thought in understanding the role of private property in developing the capitalist system, while suggesting limitations in its incapacity of prescribing an alternative enrollment to land by solely focusing on land in terms of ownership and exploitation.

The third section of this chapter, Land Commodification, locates the thesis under the current pressures of rural people in the Global South, particularly the region of South America, who are resisting capitalist expansion over their lands. I review the different uses to Marxist theoretical devices that are being used to explain the current phenomenon of land transformation. I will introduce the concepts of 'primitive accumulation' as 'accumulation by dispossession' (Harvey 2005) and 'spatial fix' (Harvey 2001) from economic geography perspectives and 'land grabbing' (White et al. 2012, Edelman et al. 2013, Borras et al. 2012a) and 'new enclosures' (Midnight Notes 1990) from agrarian political economy, and 'extractive Capitalism' from political ecology to explain the main theoretical approaches that explain the expansion of capital over nature and its production.

This chapter concludes that while significant contributions have been made by Marx and classic Marxist approaches in explaining the path of the commodification of land, Marxism has also contributed effectively in reinforcing notions of land as property in its criticisms without being able to promote other forms of relations to land beyond its affordance as a resource. From classic political economy, passing through economic geography and agrarian studies to international law and geopolitics, mainstream questions around land have been a focus in the geographies of property and resources. Either pushing for its security and individualization and market application or the transformation of tenure and distribution, all land questions were pushing for its social optimisation in some form. The exploration of land as private property in this chapter



will show its economic and legal function being framed as an alienable private commodity but also as a means for the establishment of social ordering and values. This chapter proposes, to estrange the idea of property and highlight the social morphologies formed by the assemblage of things and people in the formation of property relations.

## Section I: Land Abstraction

The modern world became ruled by abstractions – juridical, political and economic – and the role of land as property in constructing these as a reality was foundational to the formation of a world system. The aim of this section is to address the formulation of land as an abstract individual relation guided by competition and exploitation and its spatial consequences in fulfilling a normative position in the ordering of the Modern World. The concept of land as private property can be traced in Western philosophical thought to the birth of international relations, in the passage from feudalism to capitalism and as a moral formulation for settler colonialism and colonial enterprises around the world (Grotius 1625, Locke 1690, Marx 1867). One of the greatest achievements of land as property that I am addressing in this section is the establishment of a calculable relation to land's materiality. To look at the conceptual building blocks of property in its calculative abstract form, I will trace the main arguments and logics in liberal theory and the European Enlightenment in the work of John Locke and Hugo Grotius.

In Western political thought and modern law, one of the most significant authors in formalising a relationship with land in terms of private property was John Locke. Locke's *The Second Treatise of Government* (1690) was part of the debate over contractualism. The premise is the idea that societies are founded on a social contract. This hypothetical contract begins from a voluntarist position, in which a rational lonely man decides – under different circumstances<sup>9</sup> - to join a society and leave behind a

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<sup>9</sup> The main authors of the tradition of contractualism tradition are Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau. Each one of them explains a different relation with nature, others and oneself to explain the motivations to engage in a social contract and leave behind all the freedoms that the state of nature offered and trade it for less freedom and the security for a peacefully livelihood in society.

‘state of nature’ where he was completely free as a compromise to achieve social order. This political tradition inaugurates a new position, dominant to this date, of universal men at the centre of the world and in control of its destiny.

As part of the liberal tradition of contractarianism, Locke made a major contribution in theory and practice to the hegemonic position that land as property has acquired. In his chapter ‘On Property’, Locke offers a legal framework to define land in terms of property rights as part of a theory of value (Wood 2003, p.96). For Locke, private property is a right and a duty of the individual. It is in the natural dispossession and moral obligation of the individual to appropriate nature and make it productive, this is the mode to realise his freedom. As Spanish jurist and historian Bartolomé Clavero notes, in the combined acts of possession and commercial exploitation, property and rights are produced at once (1994, p.21-2). The key contribution of land as private property in Locke is the kind of value that is assigned to it. As Ellen Meiksins Wood argues in *The Origins of Capitalism* (2002), Locke’s notion of labour as the source of value and the basis of property is an attractive idea, similar to the notion of the Movimento Sim Terra in Brazil claiming land rights based on productive labour. However, Locke’s ownership relation relies not on the value added to the land through labour but in ‘the *productivity of property*, its exchange value and its application to commercial profit’ (Wood 2002, p.111, italics in the original). Land as property is made productive and profitable by its formatting as ‘exchange’ value. It is in money and commerce that land realise its potential. For Locke, the enclosure of land *improves* it and removes it from being *waste* because land’s productivity in property relations becomes attached to its exclusivity, not to its production. It is the private enclosure that provides the means for the realization of this abstract commercial-exchangeable value. In contrast, common land becomes coded as *waste*. In this binary operation, the enhancement of property relations in its productive form ‘became a reason for excluding other rights’ (Wood 2002, p.114-5) but even more it became a natural mandate.

With the establishment of this abstract universal construct, private property relations were meant to reach out in its civilizing mission abroad and a developmental mission at home. Landed property relations gave to the European colonial experience in the

Americas – particularly in North America - a system of ruling that enabled a legitimate expropriation abroad. Likewise, the entry to capitalist relations in England, via enclosure, was also echoed in liberal thought. The philosophical premise that underlined these processes was one of the development of humanity and human nature that determined a productive relation between man and land. Defoe's treatment of land in *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) offers a unique lens to introduce these views. The story of an English castaway spending 27 years on an exotic island is taken by Marx as an archetypical figure in *Capital, Volume I* (1867) to criticise the *homo economicus* (related to the self-interest and rational choice man depicted in liberal political economy and in the work of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, 1776). Marx challenged the 'Robinsonades' myth (Marx 1973, p.83). of a natural propensity of mankind 'to truck, barter and exchange' happening as part of the natural progression of human development, and to expose instead how wealth and accumulation were written in 'blood and fire'.

Marx's critique of liberal political economy questioned the presumption of a 'human nature' defined as a rational man attracted to capitalist accumulation and, later, of human social development unleashed by technological advancement. Marx explains this process as founded in violence by means of enclosure, agrarian dispossession and colonial conquest (Goldstein 2013, p.362). From the liberal perspective, Crusoe alone (Friday, his slave, set aside) overcomes his faith and in the spirit of a rational man driven by productivity transforms waste land into private property. He refuses then to inhabit it, 'planting enclosures in order to colonise a savage land' (Marzec 2002, p.143). As Robert Marzec proposes in his 'Robinson Crusoe Syndrome', the relation to the conquest land is a technological, productive and individual one 'advancing *individuation* through the erasure of *inhabitation*'. Enclosure becomes the means to produce 'the difference between a civilised zeal and a savage rambling' (2002, p.143). But what Crusoe's story also reveals is not just land that becomes enclosed to be an 'object to be mastermind by humankind' (Marzec, 2002, p.143) but also the savage (Friday in Crusoe story). Friday's enclosure marks 'the subtraction of Friday's "Otherness" (a subtraction tantamount to obliterating everything that Friday is outside of Crusoe's order)' (Marzec 2002, p.147) to make it a docile subject. The conceptual development of the role of enclosure and private property relations in the colonial experience offer

a larger exegesis that will be developed in Chapter II, but for now enclosure in its abstracting capacity is presented as a medium for the right manner of disposing and distributing land and people to be productive and disciplined objects and subjects respectively of the civilizing mission.

So far the conditions for land as property set up a rational individual man establishing a relation to land in productive terms in an ontological mission for the advancement of humanity. In the productive realm, land as property rest in competitive relations between men against men, and in its colonial context making them men. Spatially, enclosure then became material and theoretical means to dispose land as exclusive and excluding. In the following discussion I will present the theoretical and empirical origins of the creation of those boundaries between the lawful, wasteful, chaotic, savagery other and the space of order, rationality and progress found in Grotius and Locke, and the European colonial vestiges of the time.

## The Scare Resource and the Need of Legal Boundaries

Land reframed as a scarce resource became an object of competitive acquisition. From a legal perspective, Nicholas Blomley (2008), thinking of enclosure in terms of boundaries, outlines the concerns of liberal law in drawing and policing emerging boundaries and creating a divided world of insides and outsides – between safe and unsafe, legal and illegal. Inside that defined space of enclosure

Lies a secure tenure, fee-simple ownership, and state-guaranteed rights to property. Outside lie uncertain and undeveloped entitlement, communal claims, and the absence of state guarantees to property (2008, p.124).

As Blomley notes, ‘the construction of that which is deemed law thus rest on the definition of a violent world of nonlaw’ (pp.123-4). One of the most important formulations that developed this binary oppositional spatial division was that by the Dutch Jurist Hugo Grotius.

Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), one of the founders of the system of public international law (writing on behalf of the Dutch commercial empire), made a modern adaptation of the Roman concept of *Res nullius* to *Terra nullius* to create a legal framework for land dispossession and legitimise 'imperial discoveries' (de Sousa Santos 2003, p.69). In the *Prolegomena* to the *De Indis*, Grotius departs from hypothetical origins of society that once lived in a state of nature to justify the right to go to war as part of a 'natural law' of human development:

First, that it shall be permissible to defend [one's own] life and to shun that which threatens to prove injurious; secondly, that It shall be permissible to acquire for oneself, and to retain, those things which are useful for life. The latter precept, indeed, we shall interpret with Cicero as an admission that each individual may, without violating the precepts of nature, prefer to see acquired for himself rather than for another, that which is important for the conduct of life (2005, pp. 10-1).

In his mission of establishing a ruling for the freedom of the seas, Grotius produced a theory of war and peace, laying the foundation for transforming theories of politics and property by assigning proprietary right 'to things we can individually consume or transform' (Wood 2003, p.69-71). States and individuals became equals, and coercion and force turned into legitimate mechanisms of the so-called 'international society.' In this operation, Grotius gave rights not just to sovereign powers legitimate authority for conquest, but also to any individual (or private trading company). Grotius' work on international lands and seas offers historical context to the development of land abstraction as part of a global quest for economic and political domination. For Argentinian anthropologist Horacio Machado, given that it was no more possible to allege that the discovered lands were unpopulated nor possible to use the 'theological episteme' that claimed that natives had no souls, it was necessary to elaborate a new theory that enabled the domination of the new soil (2010, p.8). In this historical context of the advancement of war and European imperialism the conceptual formulations for land as property, the legal disposition of enclosure as borders of positive rights and the privatization of land developed.

## Private Property in Practice

'In the beginning, all the World was America' (Locke 2000, p.21). For Locke, America was considered juridically empty because it was populated by individuals who were occupying the land in a way that it was not exploiting the land to produce property. Locke used the conquest of America to experiment the notion of the 'state of Nature'. As Clavero proposes, the American Conquest represented a testing site for the paradigm for property rights. While Locke can see in enclosure a form of social organisation, the incapacity in creating wealth by the people living in that portion of land makes it still available for possession:

If either the Grass of his enclosure rotted on the Ground, or the Fruit of his planting perished without gathering and laying up, this part of the Earth, notwithstanding his enclosure, was still to be looked on as Waste, and might be the Possession of any other (2000, p.17).

The native population in this formulation is denied rights, not because they have no soul, but because they cannot produce capital. Herman Lebovics expresses this well, intersecting Locke's moral argument in its spatial dimension by articulating the right of dispossession in simultaneous colonial and emerging capital centres:

With this philosophical tour de force Locke managed with the same argument both justify the dispossession of the ancestral land of the Indians in distant America and the ongoing enclosure of the commons once set aside by custom for the use of the peasants of the English countryside (1986, p.578).

The creation of this philosophical-juridical universe means the exclusion of a part of humanity and 'the universal enthronization of a particular concept' (Clavero, 1994, p.26). As Lebovics suggests in 'The Uses of America in John Locke's Second Treatise', Locke should be read as the great philosopher of the world system in his linking between the old world with and the new ties of domination and subordination (1986, p.581). Following the work of Locke and Grotius and the popularized narrative of Crusoe's castaway, relations to land's materiality became available for individual acquisition, needed of boundaries and demanded for cultivation. Land as property

created a paradigm by which a world system is formed through an ‘old’ world subjugating a ‘new’ one to a global order.

The ‘Land Abstraction’ section focused in unveiling the political project behind the clean slate thrown into lands multiple material affordances to different peoples - such as inhabitancy, subsistence, livelihood, and so on – to become only measured by its monetized value. The following ‘Land Separation’ section continues exploring the making of land as property from the perspective of the separation between people and land by looking at the material effects of the making of property relations in the experience of ‘freed’ people from the land. This section goes over Marx’s work in *Capital* (Volume I) in a process that Marx called ‘primitive accumulation’ that describes the historical change in rural life from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century in Britain and Ireland in a violent process of land dispossession and land commons enclosure. It follows Marx approaches (Lenin 1901, Kausky 1899, Gramsci 1926 and Mariátegui 1928) addressing the ‘agrarian question’ that discusses the relation between land and peasants under the development of capitalist agriculture.

## Section II: Land Separation

A Marxist approach to private property helps to elucidate that the way we treat land is not the result of a natural technological progress, or a colonial romance over ‘empty lands’ (i.e Robinson Crusoe), but a product of the violent imposition of specific social relations. Marx argued that private property covered a larger role rather than a technological improvement of rural productivity. Agrarian change was transforming the very meaning of property and planting the seed for a distinct mode of social reproduction guided by new economic imperatives of competition and profit maximisation that defined the capitalist laws of motion (Wood 2002, pp.36-7).

The case of reference is Marx’s story of the ‘Enclosure of the Commons’ in rural Britain in the seventeenth century, in which he locates the origins of ‘primitive accumulation’. Enclosure became the key mechanism by which Marx explained the formation of the capitalist society. Marx explains in his chapter on ‘Expropriation of the Agricultural Population from the Land’ (Marx 1995, p.673) how in England from

the fifteenth to the eighteenth century (in the passage from feudalism to capitalism) the transformation of arable common land into sheep-walks privatised land, formed a new class driven by capital and accumulation through the creation of a free landless mass of people dependent on selling their labour to survive. The feudal tenure of land and the extinction of customary rights of English commoners was disassembled through a combination of violent and legal means (conquest, robbery and expropriation along with the Acts of Enclosure of the Commons), inciting the dispossession of people organised in a social system based on access to common property, while also establishing landlord and capitalist relations of surplus-value<sup>10</sup>. Land in this equation became politically qualified as private property, establishing a form of social life of 'alienated labour' (Arthur 1970, p.17), land as capital available for trade, rent and capital accumulation.

The expansion of capital to agriculture meant the dissolution of the feudal system, which was supported by 'co-operation and concentration of the instruments of labour in the hand of a few' (Marx 1995, p.405). Although uneven, agriculture in the feudal system developed a mode of production improving conditions of existence as well as advancing means of employment for rural people. In Marx's conclusion in Chapter 15<sup>11</sup>, 'land grabbing' (1995, p.405) comes as a term to explain the conversion of the system of agriculture thanks to land dispossession on a grand scale – as was the case in fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries in England. Marx explains this historical passage from the feudal to the capitalist mode of production as something more than mere technological development; rather, he sees it as the formation of a form of social life determined by the capitalization of social reproduction.

Marx's approach to private property relations from the perspective of separation between land and people is important to this thesis because it exposes property formation in a material historical realm, giving a specific time and space in history

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<sup>10</sup> Other necessary conditions, Marx explains, such as the concentration of trade, manufacture and an incipient world market became conditions to produce a big industry (development of the productive forces): 'the application of elemental forces to industrial ends, machinery and the most complex division of labour- called into existence the third period of private ownership since the Middle ages' (Marx 1970, p.77)

<sup>11</sup> Marx, Capital Volume 1, section 5 'The Strife Between Workman and Machine'



against the naturalized evolutionary discourses presented in Land Abstraction section. Marx's concept of primitive accumulation highlights that material moment of transforming land in private property and, for some Marxist interpretations, exposing *The Origins of Capitalism*<sup>12</sup> arguing that 'what transform wealth into capital was a transformation of social property relations' (Wood 2002, p.36). The interpretation of Ellen Meiksins Wood of capitalist transition locates land enclosure not just as the production of nature for profit maximisation but also in the formation of private property relations and thus of capitalism.

This section continues with the Marxist perspective looking at the land relations and dispossessed rural people, first introducing the agrarian question (Kausky 1899, Lenin 1901) to then focus in the specificities of the Southern cone in the twentieth century. This is informed by the work of José Carlos Mariátegui (1928) and his adaptation to what he calls the land problem. In *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* (1928) he recognizes a specific political role of the native population that will shed light around landownership relations in a more complex approach to the understanding of class struggle. Mariátegui's work will also help to move to the third section of this chapter to understand the particulars of the formation of social life determined by the commodification of peripheral lands in the emerging global countryside in the Rural South.

## Agrarian Question

Discussions about land since Marx's *Capital* (Vol. I, 1867), have been compiled in the theme of the 'agrarian question'. In the midst of the Russian revolution, Kautsky (1899) examined the role of the peasant in social change, the development of agrarian capitalism and the effect of capitalism on agrarian society. After the pivotal role of

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<sup>12</sup> There are plenty of debates and theses that explain the transitions from feudalism to capitalism. Ellen Meiksins Wood contest the commercialisation model - and the development of market opportunities and restrict the transition to the imperative determined by market forces and the urban origins of capitalism. At the same time she has also been questioned (Goldstein 2012, p.361) for her strict distinction between opportunity and imperative to defined what is capitalist. Other classic criticism to the origins of capitalism in the British Enclosure are defined in terms of auto-centric model of primitive accumulation disentangled of the colonial global context as part of Marx's theoretical formulation also developed in postcolonial Marxism.

enclosure for primitive accumulation for ending the ties of feudal domination, the rural experience did not have much centrality in Marxist thought. For Kautsky as well as for Lenin (1901), following Marxist principles, their research focused in the dialectic of labour and capital. The axis of the debate turns on the improvement of agriculture – via expansion of property- defining the role of the peasant as contributing to the class struggle (or not), and land ownership.

Under the expansion of modern nation-state system around the globe, the agrarian question had a strong impact over the southern hemisphere. Gramsci's *Southern Question* (1926) added a geopolitical element to understanding the dynamics of rural contestation. More relevant in the southern cone to understand the intertwined relationship between land and people has been *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* (Mariátegui, 1928). Mariátegui's writing departs from a context of disenchantment over the independent movements in South America and particularly in Peru and the failure of the national project; the servant situation of indigenous people and the unchanging property regime (Lopez, 2004, p.11). Mariátegui, and most of the contemporary writings from the Global South concerned with rural people and production relations (for instance, Gramsci) evolved from, themes of agrarian reform – land distribution, tenure and utilisation - to the less dogmatic approaches around class and structural conditions developed by Mariátegui in 'the Indian problem' (second essay) and his proposals of political emancipation. This curve of Marxist Latin American thought was related to the geographic specific realities of the postcolonial experience and capitalist assemblage in the region. Mariátegui's own expectations of capitalist transition after the Peruvian independence of seeing to come to the Marxist prescriptions of an emerging national bourgeoisie, following an industrial revolution and class struggle, were faded.

The postcolonial experience demonstrated that the national elite was not a capitalist class but more a class of propertarian (Mariátegui 2004, p.65), reorganised under the premises of the republican repertoire of '*liberté, égalité, fraternité*'. For Mariátegui, as long as the economic system was still ruled by latifundia and servants - far from the capitalist law of motion of competition and profit maximisation - the educational reforms and the establishment of positive right meant no challenge to the subsistence of the semi-

feudal regime. After Peruvian independence (1821) the re-branded bourgeoisie maintained the domination of a foreign extractive economy (i.e: mining) and agriculture oriented to the international market (cotton and sugar) while keeping a fiefdom system within their own properties. Mariátegui's diagnosis was that the creole elite suffered a confusion of what capitalism meant: first, they were giving more weight to rent than to production; second, they assumed that capitalist land concentration was an inheritance from the feudal system. On the contrary, for Mariátegui, the emergence of large landholdings should be a result of the dissolution and fractioning of the feudal system (2004, p.34).

Spatiality, looking at the economic geography of Europe, Mariátegui compares the lack of development of villages (as semi-urban development) – seen as a material outcome of the dismantling of a previous landed system (for instance, feudalism) - in between roads as a sign of the persistence of the feudal system in Peru. For Mariátegui, capitalism was an urban phenomenon materialised in the industrialization of manufacture and commerce (2004, p.34). Conversely, the landscape of the Peruvian nation described by Mariátegui showed the opposite experience: the countryside was autonomous and economically dominant in relation to the city.

Mariátegui saw in the rural discrete area another condition for the landlords' autocracy. This was a territory with no industry and transport, offering to the landlord an 'uncontrollable power' outside the custody of the state (2004, p.76). Moreover, the agrarian reform (1824) that emerged from the republican political ordering forced the division of communal landholding of indigenous people into private titles. For Mariátegui, this fallacious agrarian reform went against the capitalist project, expanding the power of the landowner and their states. It enabled a larger market for land accumulation and the capitulation of an emerging group of property owners that could not sustain themselves with the small portions of land they newly owned, having to sell their lands to join the latifundia – with land and labour – and get under the ruling of the landlord.

After Peruvian independence (1821) landlords, rather than losing their position, were expanding their transatlantic commercial relations and their lands, neglecting the

articulation of a national industrial economy. They enforced their direct links to the international markets by offering unmanufactured produce from which the revenues were never reinvested in the national soil for the development of such promised industrial revolution. The city, on the other hand, rather than marking the speed of the nation with an emerging industry, was dependent on revenue of exports and local produce also valued by international market prices – while the central government started to develop an economic colonial relation to Britain. Finally, the city space was ruled by a central government that demanded taxes directly affecting its urban population (mostly students and workers) from which landowners in the countryside – for political power, inefficient statecraft, and technological incapacities - did not face the same pressures.

Living in Lima as a journalist in the 1920s, Mariátegui also witnessed the urban experience of the phenomenon of the multitude and social protest. Workers and student's protests – demanding labour rights and university reforms - were taken to the streets; more surprisingly so, were the indigenous uprisings demanding the protection of their lands and freedom from servitude. Under this distinct context, Mariátegui establishes an indo-American (autochthonous) socialism with the publication of journal 'Amauta'<sup>13</sup> (1926-1927) and *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* (1928) following the Marxist theory but separating from a totalizing theory or a structuralist paradigm. With both works, Mariátegui highlights the need to articulate a civilizing alternative, linking the pedagogical and the political, proposing more than an economic structural transformation.

### *Land Indian Question*

As prescribed by Mariátegui, in the absence of a national economic force that could create the conditions for a social transformation, nor a national territory had control over a unified socio-economic space, Mariátegui bypasses the 'liberal solution' of

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<sup>13</sup> Amauta (1926-1927) meaning in Quechua teacher/connoisseur, was a Marxist, pro-Indian and cultural magazine of vanguard. Through this editorial projects he presents the political and ideological bases to found an Indo-American socialism. Amauta is censured in 1927 after being accused of organizing a communist plot against the government.

latifundia fractioning to create small property (2004, p.48) and moves his attention to the indigenous and the land question (second and third essay respectively, 1928).

Mariátegui's *Indian Question* becomes a distinct contribution to critically engage in the development of property relations from a non-European experience at the time of the passage between a colonial period to an independent society (end of nineteenth century and entry to the twentieth century). As referred to before, throughout his description of the Peruvian socio-political landscape, Mariátegui's realization is that the colonial heritage was not something to be evolved from but part and parcel of the modern configuration of capitalist social relations<sup>14</sup> in Peru and extensively in the Latin American context. Mariátegui's approach over Marx's thesis of land separation from the labourer acquires a more complex meaning given that it includes, as a necessary condition, the political role of the native population in an emancipatory national project. Mariátegui's solidarity with the Indian cause was not a patronising, pedagogical, ethnic, educational or moral one; it was a material one. The latifundia system and the agrarian property system in the region was the common enemy of the working class and the indigenous population. It was in this political key that Mariátegui saw in the Indian and in the land the same problem.

For Mariátegui the land issue was more than a rural issue; for him 'the land regime determines the political and administrative regime of the whole nation (2004, p.49). In the newly Peruvian republic and similarly in the whole southern American continent, a colonial economy persisted. The colonial inheritance of agrarian landed relationships also affected the labour regime. Peasants, mainly indigenous population, were attached to the land by the feudal methods of 'yanaconazgo' and 'enganche'<sup>15</sup> as means of forcing a dependency relation to the landlord, who was as well resisting the establishment of the free salary (2004, p.76). In other words, the land and Indian

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<sup>14</sup> The Peruvian context of Mariátegui's writings is the end of the nineteenth century. This was a period of political power contestation between a landowning class (oligarchy) and a proto-bourgeois (expressed in dictatorships and political turmoil); geopolitical accommodation between neighboring countries (i.e. Pacific War 1879-1883) and capitalist development under economic dependency of foreign bourgeois imperial powers.

<sup>15</sup> Name of the different mechanisms- Yanaconazgo is from Incaic origin- to maintain a labor regime close to slavery established during the Spanish colony in the region of South America and incorporated as part of the Feudal regime

problems were for Mariátegui, at once, the same problem. The further estrangement of the Indian from the land meant the intensification of the imbrication of colonial power and capitalism (and the viceroyalty and the republic), developed in the miscegenation of a feudal national economic system, global capitalist integration and republican rhetoric. From the Indian perspective, the republic further disrupted the fragile mixed system of primitive communism and servitude that was protected by the colonial regime. The promotion of individual property was, for Mariátegui, an ‘anti-social’ measure (2004, p.67) that went against the communist spirit of cooperation and solidarity of the collective contract of labour that organised the indigenous communitarian system.

In the separation of the Indian from the land, Mariátegui found more than the creation of a surplus labour force, but also the annihilation of a society. The potency of the Indian, as a collective political subject emanates from its distinct ontological relation to land. The historical experience and survival of the ‘Indian’ form of social reproduction under colonial ruling and postcolonial governance became a crucial axis for Mariátegui’s political emancipatory project which nowadays dominates the principles of the political contestation in the southern cone. Mariátegui saw in the Indians’ attachment to land a source of power for social unity and political action. Thus, moving away from the Marxist orthodox prescriptions of class consciousness and looking beyond the economic dimension of the impugnation of social exploitation, Mariátegui gave a crucial role to the Indian – added to the workers- political organisation for the basis of resistance and imagining a new society.

Mariátegui’s theoretical approach to the indigenous struggle over land is an integral and original one result of a diagnosis of a complex society. The *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* (1928) became one of the most original contributions to an emerging Latin American Marxism because it took the Marxist critical political economy not as a concluded theory but as tools to understand the reality of Peru. His work covered the cultural, social and economic dimensions of everyday life. Mariátegui work intersected Marxism and nationalism, considering nationalism by the inclusion of the original peoples, of an agrarian reform, of a confrontation to the latifundia system and to an un-concluded revolution. However, Mariátegui’s work did not have resonance in

the socialist and communist parties in Latin America after his death (1930) who were mostly concentrated on the urban proletariat and a class revolution and considered nationalism a form of fascism. His work, ahead of his time, just started to be recovered in the last thirty year under the advancement of extractive forms of capitalism in rural areas and further commodification of nature. The current contradictions in landed relations as result of the spatial pressures created by this new era of rural transformation guided by the interest of global capital and technological developments, have regenerating the activation of rural movements claiming sovereignty over lands and food. Mariátegui's work more than ever keeps its currency exposed by the persistence of indigenous movements and rural people sovereign claims but now also articulated in their own global networks, becoming a relevant force in the re-articulation of the rural beyond the national frontier.

The radical answer to the land question that Mariátegui proposed never reached its civilizing transformation but conversely, it was diminished along the twentieth century around agrarian reforms. The inspiration caused by the popular uprising in Mexico in 1910 and the 1917 October Revolution in Russia gave rise to a period of peasant-based mass movements, from the Caribbean to Central and South America, suppressed with different levels of violence by the state apparatus<sup>16</sup>. As a result until the 1970s the land question have been mostly administrated from above with Latin American governments enacting some kind of land redistribution to prevent the radicalisation of claims. However, Salvador Allende's deposition in Chile in 1973 spread throughout Latin America as a counter-revolutionary period, meaning most of the gains of peasants, indigenous communities, rural workers and the landless in general were set back or became a parenthesis in the development of the capitalist social relations of production.

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<sup>16</sup> Among other cases, the El Salvadorian government crushed an uprising killing 30,000 people (Dunkerley 1992, p.49), with similar events occurring in Ecuador; the leaders of Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic and Cuba – Somosa, Trujillo and Batista, respectively – with the support of the US occupation army eliminated all forms of class struggle; and the Vargas regime in Brazil suppressed the rural movement (Veltmeyer 2005). The exception was in Mexico with the acceleration and final step of the agrarian reform (1934) promoted by Cardenas. Though the following period saw a vast diversity in land reforms throughout the region, these were purely top-down, through the institutional power and incentive of the nation-state.

The Pinochet coup (1973) gave way to the entry to the neoliberal economic paradigm of market liberalization in Latin America (and extensively, to the whole world). This new political ideology created a new spatial relation between people and land in the rural space. In the next section, I discuss the land question under neoliberalism and how rural subjects are becoming anachronist for the industrial modernization of the Rural South.

### *The Land Question under Neoliberalism*

Under the structural adjustment program and land market liberalisation that governed the political landscape of the Global South between 1975- 2000 the classic agrarian question of the disappearance of peasantry and transition to the capitalist mode of production took two apparent paths: state led reforms and market-led reforms<sup>17</sup>. Both, equally, treated land under the property rights paradigm that believed in:

The development of exclusive property rights over the resource base that provided a change in incentives sufficient to encourage the rise of cultivation and domestication (Bromley 1989, p.868)

The role of the state has been the promotion of the expansion of the 'land market'. Likewise, agricultural modernisation was promoted by the World Bank among other international development agencies, through support for the creation of land banks, promoting land subdivision and facilitating foreign investment (Bromley and Cernea 1989). In both strategies, the privatisation and/or individualization of land was instituted to increase efficiency thorough the monetization of agricultural production regarded as a variable for rural social improvement. However, the result has been the expansion of large-scale farms, and as it has been studied in Africa, Latin America and Asia, a move to a subordination to an export market-oriented conception of land use efficiency, and a deepening of the uneven development of the rural world in global scale (Moyo 2003, p.24). Thus, Sam Moyo claims:

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<sup>17</sup> Depending on the part of the Global South these periods could be broadly cover from 1970s-2000s.



The land question and persistent rural poverty in Africa highlight the neglect of social justice and equity issues which underlie the unequal control and use of land and natural resources proscribe neoliberal development policy agendas and which represent external dominance of African governance reforms (2003, p.2)

For him what it used to be a state-centred question became internationalised, broadly speaking, through the neoliberal reforms of the 1980s and 1990s. The main agent leading the agrarian transition became ruled by the global market and international institutions. This is an important change because the emphasis put to dismantle local feudal and colonial racial ties, site-specific social relations of production and, development of the productive forces became neglected as means to achieve integration and equality of landed relations. The sphere of action over the national rural space became invisible with the arrival of financial capital interest over land. Following Michael Woods in *Rural*, under the new paradigm of neoliberal development aiming for the materialization of a single global free market, the rural became governed responding to the needs of economic performance and regulation – for example, tax exemptions, state-land privatization, national barriers elimination, transnational agreements, and so on (2011, pp.247-9). Under this premise, the rural became treated as an abstract site empty of social, cultural and environmental spatial existence, nor relevant to attend labour regulations or human rights (2011, p.250). At the same time the corporate re-imagination of the Rural South in the integration to the neoliberal global market also expanded to new industries such as tourism, conservation, urban development, forestry and resource extraction, bioprospecting<sup>18</sup> and intellectual property rights, among others (2011, p.260).

In the emerging ‘global countryside’ (Woods 2007), the capitalisation of landed relations can bypass the economic transformation of the peasantry as a meaningful vertex in the development of capitalist social relations. Speculative capitalism had advanced over the Rural South resolving the agrarian question of capital without its social resolution – no national development; accumulation; class formation; industrialisation nor wage employment (Moyo 2003, p.11). On the other hand,

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<sup>18</sup> Defined as ‘the commodification of biological resources by transnational corporations’ (Woods 2011, p.268)

following Henry Bernstein's suggestion, land redistribution does not constitute a condition for the formation of a capitalist property regime (2003, p.206). In the cases of land restitution and land reforms (i.e.: Chile, Mexico, Bolivia, Zimbabwe) the Marxist prescription of the disintegration of the peasantry to a capitalist class (Kausky and Lenin) was not met.

For peasants, indigenous and otherwise, the struggle for land is not necessarily a question of property and capitalist labour relations. Now under a neoliberal economic paradigm, following Mariátegui and Bernstein - it is necessary to re-think the land question beyond 'the agrarian format'. The nature of the land question is much more of a search of production improvement or ownership. The issue at stake in the disentanglement between the rural as a socio-spatial morphology and the advancement of extractive capitalism is that the land that become abstracted to be included in a landed global market dismisses the rural subject. The restructuring of rural places in the Global South under neoliberal globalization threatens the existence of the rural subject (enclosed by Crusoe in his Robinsonade myth and enslaved under the feudal-capitalist system in Latin America) by becoming redundant in the corporate model of rural development.

The contemporary land rush situates the land question under changing political, ecological and social forces. The history of rural displacement is not a new one. Indigenous population have been steadily moving to urban centres since their territories annexation to the modern state and in periods of economic global crisis<sup>19</sup>. In the case of the Mapuche people in Chile, 70% live in urban centres – 30% alone in Santiago capital city (Pinto 2007, p.20). Nevertheless, in contrast with the absolute numbers of the rural population in the context of Latin America, rural movements are the most relevant force in for social change. Land questions are re-emerging globally from grassroots social movements and indigenous groups highlighting land in terms of livelihood and identity in a context of greater inequality and marginalisation. The

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<sup>19</sup> Mapuche exodus to urban centres did not respond exclusively to world economic crisis (i.e: Great Depression) and carelessness over rural politics but migration responded to a continual racial treatment that Mapuche people suffered in greater measure during hardship in the rural economy of the region (1940's). Mapuche communities suffered price abuses and manipulation, theft of land, murders of leaders and other abusive practices that state bureaucrats ignored (Pinto 2007, p.20-22)

ways in which the domination of speculative and industrial capital in the Rural South is taking place is being interpreted in neo-Marxist thought as transformative of relations of production. For that, under the expanding growing pressure for land and its resources, the concepts of enclosure, land grabbing and primitive accumulation are being re-applied as analytical frameworks to explain land commodification under a Marxist lens.

### Section III: Land Commodification

As presented in the section on 'Land Separation', over the last 30-40 years land relations in the Global South have been under a process of transformation. On the one hand, property regimes are modified following the interest of global corporations over rural marginal land, resulting in new special normative and legal protection for global corporations over land rights with the consent and promotion of states. On the other hand, extractive industries are advancing over commons (underground, water/dams, communal lands, etc.) and acquiring legal status as well. Thirdly, state agencies deploy special legislation to criminalise local resistance to these processes of agro-industrial expansion (land grabbing and resource extraction) operating in rural spaces. Under the perspective of *land as property* it could be argued that we are witnessing a crisis of national governance over the 'property regime' with the increasing of border trespassing of supra-state organism/corporations over national sovereign territory (Zoomers 2010, p.430 Luzzani 2012). However, arguments of this sort enforce the discourse of the failed/weak state, placing the state as victims of a global process (Borras et. al. 2012c, p.863).

Rather than considering a quantitative change in state governance, I argue that this process explains a qualitative transformation of the structural framework of nation-states in the Global South. As a result, juridical, political and economic adjustments are developed under the light of global capital re-accommodating legitimate means for the discipline and displacement of people and lands. Added to this transnational 'social contract', the ecological side-effects of extractive capitalism also become means for the discipline and expropriation of lands and people. Under this scheme, violence recovers a much prominent role in the enforcement of spatial ordering. Colonial

violence returns in the realm of governance in several ways. First, a new wave of ‘othering’ takes place in the criminalization of social protest. Second, nature becomes a bordering force in itself in the disciplining of bodies and lands. Land and its plantations (mines, dams, etc) become instrumental for the continual advancement of extractive industries and displacement of rural communities (fully developed in Chapter III). In order to understand land commodification I return to the theoretical devices used to make sense of this neoliberal globalization process.

## Theoretical traces

Current land conflicts are analysed from chiefly critical perspectives, informed on different levels by Marx’s writings. Two main theoretical approaches hold land at the centre of their analysis: the classical Marxist concept of ‘primitive accumulation’ and its current derivations (I.e.: accumulation by dispossession) and ‘extractivism’, coined in Latin America. Conceptual tools such as ‘land grabbing’ and ‘enclosure’<sup>20</sup> that emerged directly from Marx’s works on primitive accumulation have been further reassessed in the last 20 years. ‘Extractivism’, on the other hand, arises from a position embedded in the theory of the capitalist world-system<sup>21</sup> (Wallerstein 2011) and dependency theory (Prebisch 1949 and Prebisch-CEPAL school<sup>22</sup>). While Marxist classical readings of ‘primitive accumulation’ via ‘land grabbing’ and ‘enclosure’ focus mainly on ownership of land, the role of states (and agencies) and the social subject perspective (Harvey, 2005; Journal of Peasant Studies 2010-15, Arrighi, 1996, among others), extractivism related to the work of militant academics such as Acosta (2012) Svampa (2012, 2013); Gudynas (2012), Machado (2014), do Sousa Santos (2003) Santos (1988), among others, focus on the territorial implications of land appropriations and ‘conviviality’ with nature. In the following analysis, I present a more rigorous definition of the concepts and categories used in the analysis of the advancement of capitalism over peripheral lands. This analytical conceptual

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<sup>20</sup> ‘Enclosure of the commons’ (Capital 1995, Ch.27; Ch.15 (5)); The German ideology (1970, p.79)

<sup>21</sup> Capitalism as a system of global scale

<sup>22</sup> The CEPAL was the Comisión Económica para América Latina (currently call as ECLAC in English with the addition of the Caribbean countries) created by the United Nations in 1948. The Argentina economist Raúl was the first director of the organism and leading theorist ‘of the first school of economic thought in the periphery known worldwide as the Prebisch- CEPAL school’ (Grosfoguel 2000)

presentation will enable a clearer formulation to approach the questions this thesis is asking about how corporate extractive capitalism is transforming the countryside.

### *Capitalism and Space*

Rosa Luxemburg was one of the first authors to propose a link between violence and spatial expansion as a permanent feature of capitalism. In *The Accumulation of Capital* (1913), she returns to Marx's concept of primitive accumulation, perceiving it – instead of a onetime phenomenon - as an on-going process. This is a violent mechanism of capitalist expansion that inherently depends on a violent extra-economic prerequisite – instead of mechanic economic operation- to produce the conditions to create capital. The critical originality of Luxemburg's work is in recognising that beyond the exploitation of surplus value coming from labour power another key valve of capitalist engineering is the constant need for spatial expansion in non-capitalist environments. While most classical readings of Marx's primitive accumulation remain in the material-historical realm (see Lenin, 1899) as a one-time phenomenon, the contemporary debates on primitive accumulation (Arrighi 1996, Harvey 2005, Sassen 2013b, Midnight Notes 1990) that this section introduces expands on Luxemburg's approach that recovers the violent expropriation process that repeats itself as the condition for the existence of capital (Grigera and Alvarez, 2013, p.85-6).

Increasing land conflicts in the Global South have regenerated debates about the concepts of enclosure and land grabbing that Marx identified as the factors separating the means of production from the producers as presented in the previous section. For most of the critical literature on agrarian political economy, land grabbing is considered an updated form of 'primitive accumulation' (Marx, *Capital*, Ch.24) in the shape of 'accumulation by dispossession' (Harvey 2005). Likewise, enclosure, 'the new enclosure of the commons' (collective Midnight Notes 1990) or 'spatial fix' (Harvey 2001) refers to seizure among other things of natural resources including oceans and air and intellectual property as a permanent feature of the current era of financial capitalism.

In section I, this Chapter established the historical conditions for the discursive formation of land as property in relation to the formation of exclusive boundaries and

imperial expansion. This was explained as a political and ideological process of abstraction of land that enabled its treatment as a form deemed for exclusive and excluding possession. In section II, it was established the material effects over the formation of private property in the separation of people from land and its mutual exploitation. This third section investigates the commodification of land as the third leg identified by this thesis in the permanent making of land as property relations. The following categories explain the practices needed for the commodification of land. These categories will be used later in this thesis (chapter III, IV) and further developed to the specific conditions of colonial persistence of the Global South (chapter II) to critically analyse the ways and means of continual commodification of land over rural areas in the Global South.

### 1) Land Grabbing

Land grabbing can be technically defined as a form of land acquisition. However, the notion of ‘grabbing’ is a discursive political categorization that attempts to highlight the violence of these processes and nullify its neutrality as if it was any other purchase:

‘Grabbing’ creates specific kinds of property dynamics, namely dispossession of land, water, forests and other common property resources; their concentration, privatisation and transaction as corporate (owned or leased) property; and in turn the transformation of agrarian labour regimes (White et al., 2012, p.620).

Contemporary land grabbing can be defined as large-scale land deals. However, still to-date, there is no unified definition or vision of what (including the how, where and whom) constitutes land grabbing. However, there is a consensus that ‘a renewed land rush is indeed happening worldwide, albeit unevenly’ (Edelman, et al., 2013, p.1520).

Marc Edelman (2013), along with most of the scholars in the debate on land control (Borras and Franco 2012a, Borras et.al 2012c), links land grabbing to the worldwide spike in food prices during 2007 and 2008. Wheat, rice, soy and maize became the most common crops in international trade, pushing prices up and increasing incidents of land grabbing, giving the initial, and often the only agricultural framework for

thinking about the topic. Initial public debate on land grabbing was oriented around the food crisis and food-insecure nation-states controlling foreign land through displacing local populations and their production – thereby making the host nation-state and its population even more fragile and insecure. The related assumption was that global food production was in danger from the emerging global biofuel industry that was also capturing land to satisfy the rapid growth of countries such as China and India, thus creating a competition between food security and fuel (White and Dasgupta, 2010). As described, while the early debate about the extent of contemporary land grabbing focused on the political economy of agriculture and the capitalisation of a food scarcity scenario, the analytical scope has been developing since, including environmental, biofuel and biomass, mining, forestry, urbanisation, and the financialization of agriculture among others (Edelman et al. 2013, p.1518).

The geopolitical aspects of land grabbing have also been challenged. Paying attention to the role of different states, actors and agencies reveals that the classic directions of North-South and private-public no longer provided a relevant or useful framework (Borras et al 2012a, 2012b). Rather, corporate farm acquisition and the host state's active involvement in those deals became key elements in the explanatory analysis (Akram-Lodhi 2012, p.127), dismantling a notion of weak states (Chapter IV develops this approach for the Chilean case). In sum, first, land grabbing as a political concept is used to expose the constant violent process of capital expansion. Second, land grabbing as a concept is still evolving, adding new industries beyond agriculture, from tourism to mining – meaning that it is not determined by its scale but by the capital invested and can include large extensions and small areas-. Thirdly, current land grabbing explains a new geometry of powers between global and national and public and private interest.

## 2) Enclosure

In *Land*, Derek Hall offers some clues over the specificities of land. He argues that land cannot be seen as a commodity – product of human labour - to be followed along the chain (2013, p.8). In contrast with other elements of nature that are produced to become commodities, such as maize, soy and gold, sugar or petrol for example, land

needs to be enclosed – rather than extracted and taken to be processed – in order to be capitalised. Enclosure, is a useful category of analysis because it offers a spatial dimension to explain the specificities of the commodification of land.

Land grabbing is theoretically justified by applying Thomas Malthus in his ‘Essay on the Principle of Population’ (1798), where he explains that population growth represents a potential catastrophe of famine and disease at global level. Therefore it is necessary to exploit land more intensively and more efficiently. The new enclosure supplement this narrative supported by Hardin’s ‘Tragedy of the Commons’<sup>23</sup> (1968), in which common property systems allow the individual to take advantage of the collective ‘inherently prone to decay, ecological exhaustion and collapse’ (Land issue, 2009, p.2). These quasi-scientific, apocalyptic imaginaries of scarcity (and return to ‘state of nature’), were also supported to the already falsified premise of the tragedy of the commons pushing, both, for the expansion of property relations on a global scale. These hypotheses became scientific foundations and implicit dominant paradigms for global rural policies and natural resources management by the IMF and World Bank and state agencies for a legitimization of detrimental political economies for local rural societies (Bromley and Cernea 1989, p.6). As a result, the current narratives and strategies behind the new enclosures include the global anticipation of food insecurity, fuel security, new environmental imperatives, the establishment of special economic zones (SEZ), new financial instruments for secure investments, and the creation of rule, regulation and incentives by the IMF, USAID, UN and other representatives of the international community (White et al. 2012, pp.626-30).

The North American academic radical left collective Midnight Notes<sup>24</sup> defines the new enclosures as part of a large-scale reorganisation of primitive accumulation underway since 1970 that eliminates any “traditional” or “organic” or institutionalized relation between the proletarians themselves and the power of the earth or of their past’ (1990,

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<sup>23</sup> Garret Hardin published in 1968 ‘The Tragedy of the Commons’ in *Science Magazine* and became one of the most quoted articles of that journal used to build arguments supporting the application of regulations on the environment and other commons

<sup>24</sup> This group started a journal in the 70s theorising social struggles and class formation. It maintained its anonymity showing a commitment to the revolutionary cause and trying to avoid academic ‘cult’ attention. Some of the members of the group were George Caffentzis and Peter Linebaugh. Other mentioned friends were Silvia Federici and Massimo de Angelis, to mention some.



p.3). Their description of the new enclosures includes: ending communal control of land, seizure of land for debt, internationalisation of the labour force (i.e. creating migrant labour, the collapse of Socialism (i.e. USSR, Poland, China) for the expansion of the world market and a free labour force, and the destruction of the earthly commons<sup>25</sup>. Their Marxist approach, following Luxemburg's argument, situates enclosure as a permanent feature capitalist imperialism, instead of Marx's account of enclosure as a one-time historic and geographically-specific phenomenon that enabled capitalist 'primitive accumulation'. The great insight of the Midnight Notes collective was to bring the notion of the 'new enclosure' twenty years before most of the academic rush over land global acquisition; but more importantly their treatment of enclosure anticipates a re-structuring of land relations described as a further separation between people and land, an approach that this thesis describes under the current commodification of land and the utilization of nature as means of enclosure (Chapter III).

In 'The Invisible Hand and the Visible Foot', Farshad Araghi gives enclosure a central role by referring to it as the defining and constitutive element of capitalism. He expands the definition of the new enclosures that comes in the form of:

Dispossession, repossession and commodification of public use values, of labour, of knowledge systems, of spatial – or what is now called intellectual property rights – of land, of the environment and other resources, of housing, of food and social provisioning systems, of spatial, civil and political rights, of plants and human genotypes, of ecology, biology and, in the end, of life itself (2009, p.120)

For Araghi, following the line of the Midnight Notes collective, the enclosures expand from the land to explain how it become means for the commodification of all social relations. Thus, from the original enclosure that Marx spoke of in *Capital* (Vol. I) when he explained the separation of direct producer from the land and the creation of private property and capitalist agriculture, the new enclosures expand and intensify the capture

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<sup>25</sup> Earthly commons refer to natural elements that are basic for human survival and always have been assumed as belong to humanity. Elements such as air, water, land, seeds, woods, indigenous knowledge's, etc. For more on the commons look at Vandana Shiva and the 'Contemporary Enclosure of the Commons' (Shiva, 1997)

of new spaces. The geographer Cindi Katz, makes a distinction between the classic enclosures measured by its extension over absolute space and the new ones which expands in intensity that create and produce spaces of intellectual property (1998, p.47). For Jesse Goldstein, in any case 'expansive' (classic enclosure over land) and 'intensive' (biological commodification of nature) enclosure, rather than needing an analytical distinction both entail:

the qualitative production of land – nature as property and the properties of nature – as well as the quantitative expansion of control over that newly produced terrain (2013, p.360)

Her point is that the earth, from land to nature in its microbiological composition, is deemed to become abstracted and valued exclusively as commodities. Following the abstraction from land philosophical and legal articulations from Locke and Grotius in their civilizing and imperial missions, non-commodified nature becomes enclosed and disposed in the binary coding of property relations, between monetization and waste, to join the world of market relations.

### 3) Spatial Fix

David Harvey explains a similar process of capitalist expansion using the term 'spatial fix' or 'spatio-temporal fix' (2005, p.115). With the application of this concept he describes the process by which capital drive finds spaces abroad where it can deter its crisis propensity (falling rate of profits) by allocating surplus capital (over-accumulation of money or products). This spatial allocation temporally alleviates capital inherent crisis, provoking a geographical expansion and/or restructuring. Given the predatory nature of capital, the spiral circle will eventually continue to replicate the same process with bigger intensity fixing new spaces. For Harvey either the type of space – physical, biological, intellectual - is not the point. He focuses instead in the type of capital motorizing this new phase of imperialism and the modes (privatisation and financialisation) of producing new spatial fixes.

Harvey explains 'the fixes' under the umbrella of a larger theoretical interpretative framework of capital accumulation and contemporary imperialism that he names 'accumulation by dispossession' (2005, p.137). Harvey coins this new term to define primitive accumulation as a permanent feature explained in spatial terms. With this, Harvey highlights the relevance of space and geography over the dominance of time and history in Marxist political-economy. But more importantly, and in contrast to Luxemburg, this spatial expansion does not depend on reaching geographies outside of the capitalist system but simply further develops forms of capital formation in sector outside the circle of global capital or in the production of new spaces to be potentially capitalised and articulated to the global economy.

The empirical application of Harvey's accumulation by dispossession however has opened questions about its practical applications and differences with Marx's primitive accumulation. For Michael Levien without

The means-specific distinction, it is no longer clear what separates accumulation by dispossession from other spatial fixes and the 'normal' expanded reproduction of capital (2013, p.382).

For him, looking at the political economy of land dispossession in India, is the element of 'extra-economic coercion to expropriate means of production, subsistence, or common social wealth for capital accumulation' (2013, p.401) that makes accumulation by dispossession a useful category. In sum, Levien's site-specific empirical analysis clarifies the value of the concept of 'spatial fix' by linking capital expansion and violence. It makes also clear, following Harvey's premise, that further land commodification does not need to be out of the realm of capital to be grabbed or enclosed. However, a gap in Harvey's account of spatial fixes is his silence about location. The trajectory of the fix, as a violent mechanism for the expansion of capitalism, it is also determined by site. It is the result of the role of the South historically assigned as a site of plundering, more than the result by the compulsion of capitalist accumulation. Following this, I will introduce the greater role of spatial fixes as part of a structural violent apparatus of ordering bodies and lands in the making of the Rural South.

So far, I have discussed the expansion and usefulness of the conceptual uses of, land grabbing, enclosure and spatial fix to explain forms of land expropriation and nature commodification under neoliberal global capitalism. The interlocking between land grabbing, enclosure and spatial fixes have placed them as common proxies to designate broad processes of separation, abstraction and commodification of land and nature. This is a result of the evolution of these concepts accompany the new ways, in extension and intensity, that capital unfold, while also exposing the violent spatial conditions for the survival and evolution of capital. The final concept (extractivism) takes out land commodification from its ubiquity, disconnected from social and cultural relations, and place it in the context of the Global South, highlighting the geopolitical dimension (locally and globally) of the violent effects of the allocation of extractive industries in rural places.

#### 4) Extractivism

Extractivism is a political-economic concept that aims to describe a type of violent re-primarisation of the economies in the Global South as the role assigned in the integration of the global economies. Technically, extractivism<sup>26</sup> is the process of nature resource extraction to be allocated on the global market. However, extractivism is used to describe a development model. The approach to the global industrialization of the rural under the extractivist perspective deals with discourses of development acknowledging a long history of colonial imbrication with modern governance. This longer historical approach to the political-economy of Latin American considers state-centric and national developmentalist discourses, as another political assembly in a longer history of the production of the South as a site of plunder. This perspective does not just acknowledge the geographical relevance (and production) of the South in the spatial divide of the world division of labour in terms of uneven and combined development or the world system, but it also considers the materiality of that locality. This enables an analytical work that looks to the site-specific disarticulation of people's

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<sup>26</sup> Extractivism was first use to describe the exploitation of wood resources of the Amazonian forest (OCMAL, 2013)

livelihood as a category of relevance. It acknowledges the value of nature and land from the local scale and in its conviviality with people.

Extractivism offer an analytical scope to look at the productive landscape further separating people and lands and its environmental consequences. Mediated by technological advancements, extractive industries generate a contradiction in which land is needed, but the people are not (Li 2011, p.283). Presented as an opportunity, rural societies that maintains inefficient farms need to be intervened for the development of the nation. As mentioned before Hardin's fable of the 'tragedy of the commons' has become instrumental in a global neoliberal approach of rural development in which rural people become redundant.

The extractive conceptual approach emerges at the end of the twentieth century updating the theoretical political-economic debates of the 1950s-1990s looking at economic uneven development from the perspective of the South. First, dependency theory (Prebisch, 1949) developed in the 1950s as a response to a developmental approach that claimed a progressive linear evolution of societies; second, the world-system theory (Wallerstein, 1974) showed that there is a differential relationship between central countries (exporters) and peripheral (poor or underdeveloped) countries. Both theories build up in their understanding of the international division of labour debate, distinguishing countries that cover a role of producers of raw materials and the 'central states' that are manufacturers of products – thus cementing an uneven development between the parties (Grigera and Alvarez 2013, p.90). The critical concern at the time, was to explain the subjugated role of southern national economies in the integration to the global capitalist system. Extractivism as a critical theory emerging from the South, analyses the re-articulation of peripheral and semi-peripheral territories to the neoliberal global economy including the role of the national-economies in promoting these dynamics. The development of extractive capitalism in Latin America also shows a more complex relation between centre and peripheries compared to the one developed under the premise of dependency theory. The emergence of new global actors and the complicity between centres and peripheries (Svampa 2012, p.44) have affected a more clear separation between metropole and periphery. Another point of distinction with the world-system theory

and dependency theory is the conceptual framework of extractive capitalism, while is rooted in a Marxist critique of political economy, it also gives entity to the non-human, such as land, water and oceans. It fundamentally acknowledges the environmental consequences of the extractive economic model as one model that co-opts, eliminates and dominates all territorial forms of social reproduction to subsume them to the hegemonic macro-energetic pattern (Mantovani Teran 2014). While these types of extractive-export industries represent a type of enclave economy – since they do not promote any articulation with the local or national economy – they simultaneously locally produced ‘enclaved’ populations and lands, exhausting local populations’ possibility of reproducing themselves in these sites. The totality of the environment, from land to water, become exclusive resources for these industries – and any other appropriation of nature becomes disabled.

‘Extractivism’ (also known as neoextractivism) operates under two main concerns. One, the political side of this uneven economic model, meaning a return to the extraction-based model of commodities. Second, the socio-ecological effects of the insertion of enclave extractives industries in the rural geographies which implies a restructuring of agrarian capitalism and subsequently a new form of land separation. Touching upon the political side, the articulation between states and capital has been transformed in the last thirty years with the full incorporation of what Maristella Svampa calls in the context of Latin America the ‘consensus of the commodities’<sup>27</sup> (2013). This explains entrance to a new political economic order:

Sustained by a boom in international prices of raw materials and consumable goods more and more in demand by hegemonic countries and emerging powers, generating indubitable comparative advantages visible in economic growth and increase in monetary reserves, which at the same time produce new asymmetric and profound inequalities in Latin American societies (Svampa 2013, p.31).

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<sup>27</sup> The term *consensus* follows the passage from the ‘Consensus of Washington’ founded in the financial valorisation of the 1990s neoliberal years, to the ‘commodity consensus’ based on the large-scale exports of commodities. In the Latin American context, commodities refer mainly to food, metals and minerals that have a high value in the international market but do not require advance processing technology (Svampa 2013, p.30).

The idea of a consensus refers to a hegemonic political construction that presents the acceptance of this economic model as an inevitability to 'save the world'. The Malthusian myth of exponential population growth vs. a sustenance linear increase and Hardin's land prescriptions vs. the commons, rest in the southern cone of the world, because the model demands sacrifices. These are mainly reflected in social spaces that are 'socially emptiable' (Svampa 2013, p.34). Under this perspective, local conditions of social reproduction are not just disembodied, but the material conditions for people's relationship with their environment are further alienated.

This moves on, to the second concern of the extractivist approach reflecting upon the material conditions of those 'socially emptiable' spaces. This spatial dislocation has been explained by various conceptual streams. Araghi using enclosure as a conceptual framework calls the process of 'global depeasantization' (2009, p.120) the great global enclosure of our time. Other scholars reflect on the consequences of this rural depeasantization by looking at migration from rural to urban settings (Sassen 2013b, Teubal 2009, Akram-Lodhi et al. 2009, among others). In extractivism, following a Marxist inspiration, this is seen as a process of alienation, but not just from land, but from territory – an expulsion beyond the specific economic sense of being separated from the means of production. According to Svampa:

It refers to a vertical dynamic that erupts in the territories and its path destroys regional economies, biodiversity. Expanded land-grabbing practices displace poor rural communities – peasant and/or indigenous – and destabilising processes of democratic political participation (2013, p.34).

Combining the political and the socio-environmental aspects of extractive capitalism, peasants and rural life reappear<sup>28</sup> as an obstacle for development under a neo-Malthusian rush for land (McMichael, 2014, p.37). The expansion of modern industrial

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<sup>28</sup> This is presented as a revival since the experience of the 'green revolution', that generated a dependency system of process food in the third world while becoming main producers of feed crops for first world markets as part of the global restructuring of agriculture. (McMichael 1997, p.639). While historically the displacement of rural lives has been expressed in terms of accusation of 'idleness' or 'lazy natives' the current rhetoric of the world bank (World development report 2008) appeals to 'people's inertia' for economic restructuring (Land Issue 13, p.18)

agriculture measured in yield gap productivity<sup>29</sup> legitimised notions of so-called ‘under-used’ or unexploited land. Peasants and indigenous lands still unattached to the extractive model become ideal assets for the current global market. In an ideological sense, extractivism operates in the modern production of the South as a site of plunder. As such, the new developmental discourse functions in a double symbolic and material expropriation. Socially, it operates disarming local, national or regional networks outside the alignment to the global market. Materially, it extracts common wealth that it is then transformed as a commodity and taken abroad, while simultaneously, producing waste at home.

Miguel Teubal describes a new emerging countryside restructured under the needs of insertion of extractive capitalism:

A new ‘agriculture without farmers’ seems to be consolidating itself, shaped by the use of new technologies associated with the widespread production of transgenic crops and the massive expulsion of farmers and peasants from agriculture (Teubal 2009, p.157)

This type of agro-industrial economy can be described as with a specific scale, type of capital and transformative of the productive apparatus. It is capital-intensive while low on labour demand; it is articulated by financial capital and, expands enclave export economies with an erasing impact over of the productive industry (Grigera and Alvarez, 2013, p.82). Presented as great advancement for the improvement of the most vulnerable and poor – articulated by state plans of support and national subsidies – this type of development merely expands under the masquerade of ‘benevolent capitalism’ (Gudynas 2012, p.103) while consolidating a dynamic of dispossession of land, territories and natural resources (Svampa 2012, p.19). The classic venture of the extractive industry is mining but ‘new’ industries expanded to agriculture (agribusiness), forestry (tree plantations), and new mining (of rare metals using the open pit mining system). They have been grouped under the umbrella of extractivism

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<sup>29</sup> Marginal land is a way to categorise land as not sufficiently exploited along with other terms like under-used or unproductive. Though people might be living on or using the land for everyday life, satellite technology displays a landscape of land productivity. Using satellite imaging, the World Bank found ‘yield gaps’ totalling 445 million hectares globally (Akram-Lodhi 2012 p.128). The yield gap is based on actual production against potential maximum production.



because they are all non-renewable resources, the use of new technologies and the dependence on specific terrains based on their natural wealth – water, mineral and land — and their implementation during the entrance to the neoliberal era. But more importantly because these are all resources that ‘are to be used as raw material for other industries or direct consumption but based on the utilisation of the soil, subsoil and oceans’ (Grigera and Alvarez 2013, p.81). Finally, the expansion of the extractive model, owing the augmented exchange value for companies, are of low use value for local communities. This affects the labour market, creating a surplus rural labour force while increasingly impacting on lifestyle and the possibility of other types of artisanal rural development in those areas (Giarraca and Teubal 2010, p.114-5).

Finally, as a theoretical approach extractivism is explained as a crucial vertex in the formation of a global political economy. Extractivism is not just a type of industry but a model for development in which the global market commands local territorial formations. Through the lens of extractivism, the formation of an extractive regional geography has been essentially a process of land coloniality that treats the southern cone of the American continent as a field of resources (Antonelli 2012, p.77). The extension of new economic order in the countryside of the Global South and particularly in South America’s indigenous ancestral lands has become a tour de force in the restructuring of landed property relations. In considering the socioecological damages of social spaces the critical approach to extractivism it also encompasses a sensing/thinking pedagogy, in the lines of the work of Mariátegui, acknowledging local struggles – from rural population and indigenous- as sites of knowledge in the resistance to those development model.

In sum, the re-elaboration of these theoretical devices developing since 1970s to explain the new forms of land commodification has provided multiple approaches to explore capitalist expansion. Land grabbing, in the tracing of financial capital interest in land facilitates to explain the corporate takeover property of land and its entry to the speculative market. The treatment of enclosure also showed the extent to which how capitalist predatory behaviour is expanding and the violent implications of this process. Harvey’s proposals of accumulation by dispossession and spatial fixes explain land commodification in a new imperial mission and *worlding* process. However, across

these three conceptual pathways (land grabbing and enclosure, spatial fixes), land is mostly treated, following the lines of classical Marxism, as something which can be reduced to an abstract value. The limitations of land grabbing and enclosure is that they still occludes the role of land as anything other than property.

Demands of sovereignty over land (and food) in terms of territory and otherwise for resisting communities and peasants' collectives offers an opportunity to conceptualize land beyond the binary of commons or property. Extractivism, focusing on the political-ecological consequences over the ground offers a conceptual framework to engage in resistance and land multiple affordances beyond the political economy of land. The ecological centrality given to local processes of displacement via extraction place in the centre of attention the active part of land materiality above its role of property relations also removing rational economic thought from the physical world (Acosta 2012, p.298).

## Conclusion

Spaces like commodities are produced –they appear as a matter-of-fact but, as this chapter argued, both are a result of social relations. Both are concrete-abstractions bound up with capitalism and ensemble by political, social and ideological principles and forms. However, in comparison with space, to paraphrase Lefebvre, in the production of land there is a limit. Land scarcity allows a new valorisation in which the rupture with the local and even with the national framework renews the violent contradiction of capital: land, through commodification for global capital, becomes an absolute abstraction, an exclusive space for extraction and accumulation. The way in which land is calculated, put in to the market and further estranged from people this thesis argue, makes of property relations a limited scope to explain the transformation of landed relations under the advancement of extractive capitalism.

While the revitalization of the primitive accumulation debate is a valuable step towards theoretically framing current processes of land dispossession, I have argued that the abstraction of land still dominates the debate over land conflicts. Land goes through a transformation from use value to exchange value –further advancing in the separation

and commodification of land – but no other entity is attributed to it. Land is debated as a resource perspective and means of conquest. The modern episteme still treats land as an object of knowledge and monetary valorisation (Machado 2014, p.240), whether common or privately owned, it nevertheless maintains its condition of *property*. From the classical Marxist perspective, the relations analysed are between different social subjects and class formation (i.e., peasants and landlords) for the development of capitalist forms of production and reproduction. But the relevance of people's relationship with land has been undermined, with its role in subjectivity formation largely ignored. Land's role as an organising actor has yet to be acknowledged.

Land commodification under a global neoliberal economy has been explored through land grabbing, enclosure and spatial fix each one highlighting different aspects of the speculative treatment of land. However, they all share in common a lack of attention to a 'qualitative transformation of land' (Goldstein 2013, p.358). While these approaches have made a contribution denouncing the intervention of financial capital in land, the extension of nature speculative capitalisation, the transformation of the labour regime, the developmental discourses behind these processes in line with new governing powers and the violence implicated in them, they neglect the material aspect land. The extractive capitalist approach, however, touches upon some material aspects of land commodification considering the transformation of the social aspects of rural spaces highlighting the consequences of land commodification with the development of spatial enclaves and enclaving communities. Other material aspects intervening in our notion of land as a social relation and as provider of the quotidian, such as dams, pipes, plantations, fences, irrigation systems, agro-toxics, to mention some elements need also to be accounted in the analytical framework to explain the effects of extractivism in the making of the Global Rural South. Making a more complex approach to the material beyond the mathematical reason of class order, this thesis is also attempting to make visible the flesh and bones of the current form of the extractive economies – adding colour, ethnicity and culture- emphasising the affected human agents of this process.

In the same line of feminist Marxism (Federici 2004, Katz 1998, Massey 1992) challenging domestic unpaid labour as 'free gifts of nature' or female corporeality

subordinated to the production and (social) reproduction of profit, land is still treated as this universal abstract thing that mystifies the role of land as a provider. Social movements and academics from the South following a sensing/thinking pedagogy including a gender perspective attempt to defend local ecologies and territories by critiquing the abstraction and patriarchal domination of nature and social relations – that treats land as a site of conquest than need to be trimmed and rationalized to be made effective and turned into an instrument of labour-power. The critical extractive tradition follows a philosophical resistance to the Eurocentric inheritance (Massuh 2012, p.13) that guides the reading of this thesis attempting to open up on other historically ignored worldview traditions to be taken as valuable knowledge for a liberation process. Explaining globalization from rural peripheries it also implies an unmasking process that attempts to go beyond the economical reason and unveil a colonial continuation of peoples and lands dispossession. This means to expose a racialized element in the extractive economies. However, as Rita Segato, clarifies while talking about other forms of spatial confinement (Latin American jail system) the colour of this processes is the one of race but not in the idea of race that dominates the North American classificatory system, but as marks of dispossessed people, that now is proudly re-emerging (2007, p.145).

Federici (2004) in *Caliban and the Witch* speaks of the body as a site of resistance; similarly, I seek to conceptualise land as a field of resistance. That is why land as property has a limited scope to explain how the social, material and conceptual enrolment of landed relations are affecting the making of the Global Rural South. But, more importantly, as this chapter argued, property relations cover a much complex role discursively and materially enforcing the domination of capitalist reproduction and the elimination of other relations to land that would enable other ways of being. The new enclosures, I argue, articulate a new form of land relations in a long history of colonization. To fully investigate the effect of land enclosures we need to pay attention to the two parts of this relation – land and the people subjected to it. Following the position of this thesis investigating the postcolonial countryside under new modes of accumulation, then it is necessary to reflect, in both, the changing position of the postcolonial subject and its land.

In the following chapter I will further elaborate the concept of enclosure interpreting and adapting Foucault's approach to technologies of enclosure in the context of the Global Rural South. With a theoretical exegesis of the historical and epistemological significance of the South I further established the racial premise in the process of spatial fixes under extractive economies and the global neoliberal market. Enclosure and extractive capitalism will be applied to explore this thesis research question asking, how the new modes of accumulation in the countryside are affecting landed relations at multiple scales and how race accommodates in these new dispositions between capital and land.

## Chapter II: When Land Means More than Property: The dialectical relations between land, people and race

*We just came to ask  
Of the land are we just the color?  
Or are we besides the land that is land-colored?  
Does the land that grows upward from our land grow apart?  
If from the land we come – are we free or slaves?  
When we live, is the land our food?  
And when we die, do we feed the land?  
Is our land called no man's land?  
Do we work the land or does the land work us; extracting from us our land-color?  
Are we owners of the land or do we belong to the land?*

*From Morelia, Michoacán  
Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos  
CCRI-CG del EZLN  
(2001)*

### Introduction

Modernity has been always been associated with movement and capitalism: technology, speed and circulation have increased, always in service to/as a function of the capitalist mode of production. However, from an ecological point of view, Reviel Netz (2004) argues that modernity is not only about an increase in movement but also about the control of it – the ability to create limitations and restrictions to people's access to space and to land. In postcolonial settings, the containment of native populations in bounded space became a guiding principle in the formation of modern political ordering. Or, in Sandro Mezzadra's words, confinement 'is the "true" epistemic cipher of the West's project of colonial domination' (2006, p.2). As a result, the racial layer constitutes a critical dimension in the formation of the modern landscape of the ex-colonies. To fully understand how modernity produces space and

organise land in the postcolonial setting I argue that is necessary to understand the governance of land and peoples through the prism of race.

The aim of this chapter is to develop a theoretical framework to explain the emerging formation of landed relationships operating on ‘colonial grounds’ (Machado 2014). To explore the role of land in social relations in the postcolonial countryside, I combine the work of Henri Lefebvre looking the formation of rural societies and Michel Foucault’s disciplinary power. Lefebvre’s analytical method in *Rural Sociology* (1953) is applied in this research to systematically explore how land is dialectically produced. Additionally, I expand on Foucault’s treatment of enclosure to apply it to rural spaces. With Lefebvre’s and Foucault’s contributions to the analysis of space, power and land relations, the third section engages with decolonial thinking – as a programmatic project of breaking with modern Eurocentric rationality of enlightenment- to explain the role of race and violence in the making of the modern-colonial countryside.

Chapter I offered a historiography of land in Western political thought by looking at its framing of land as property through ideational, discursive and material practices. However, as the chapter concluded, land has effectively been reduced to a resource and an economic asset in both, liberal political thought and Marxist thought. Thus, if landed theory has also been constitutive of the enactment of worlds, then my approach will look at the process-base dimensions of the production of racial difference in the entanglements between epistemology, practices and structures to understand the making of landed relations and societies’ subjectivity in postcolonial geographies.

In the first section of this chapter, I engage with Lefebvre’s *Rural Sociology* that will guide the structure of the following chapters of the thesis. I apply Lefebvre’s progressive-regressive method developed<sup>30</sup> in *Du Rural a l’urbain* (1970) to look at the history of landed relations in the Rural South. I will treat land in a dialectic movement to show the mutual affect between land, societies and structural conditions. In the

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<sup>30</sup> *Du Rural a l’urbain* is a collection of articles that were written from 1949-1969. This thesis is using the Spanish edition *De lo Rural a lo Urbano* (ed. Mario Gaviria) (1978). The first intention to develop a method to study rural societies appeared in 1949 (1978, pp.32-8). In 1953 he writes ‘Contributions to Rural Sociology’ that also appears in the volume where he develops the method (1978, p.71-6).

second section, I use Foucault's approach to technologies of enclosure developed in the 'Art of Distributions' in *Discipline and Punish* (1991, p.141) to understand space and power relations between fixity, movement and resistance. In my application of enclosure as a spatial technology in landed relations in the Rural South I move to postcolonial interpretations of modern governance (Legg 2007, Chatterjee 2004, Huxley 2007) and other developments on Foucault's notions of power (1980) in relation to land governance from Li (2014) and Blomley (2013) to Moore (2005) that unveil the everyday impact of the Western logos in space. Finally in the third section, I develop the concepts of racialized enclosure, to look at coloniality in space and include race to the relations between land, and power. With this aim, the concepts of enclosure and spatial fix are re-investigated as disciplinary technologies of racialization of people and lands, but can also be explored as counter-knowledge and productive subversive spaces of difference and resistance. Including the history of racialized people in the postcolonial countryside, this thesis aims to recuperate the continuum of lands' colonial domination that will permit to understand the contemporary contestation over land and why communities are enclosing themselves as means of resistance.

This chapter concludes in support of the role of these practices in the art of living and counter-knowledge. This takes the argument beyond the political-economy of land (Marx 1970, Harvey 2001) to consider an economy of alterity in the distribution of land for the establishment of a system of social exploitation. This chapter prepares the ground to explore in the following chapter the development of a new imposed social topography over the countryside of the Rural South. As the thesis argues, this new entanglement between modern and colonial spaces driven by extractive capitalism, affects sedimented landed relations but furthermore, advance eliminating the social aspect of rural land. The emergence of this regime of enclosure is what creates the urgency to visit the history of landed relations in the postcolonial countryside.



## Section I: Lefebvre's Rural Sociology, a methodological proposal

Against notions of land as a passive element to be acquired, Lefebvre analyses the active role land play organising social relations. While Lefebvre builds on Marx to consider the social significance of material objects, he argues that certain interpretations of Marxist theory move with a limited theoretical understanding of land's material multiplicity. Lefebvre's *Rural Sociology* provides a way of understanding land in dialectical terms: physically situated, materially constituted by internal and external factors (human and non-human) and socially constructed.

Lefebvre believed that the limited treatment of land's role in the historical-materialist approach as nothing else than a commodity was a response to an assumption by the 'physiocrats' that agriculture and labour agriculture were going to disappear against the advancement of the modern industry. Both in terms of quantitative – wealth production – and in its qualitative capacity – needs from land's product. Any antagonism was going to be fade away by the advancement of capitalism: agriculture was going to become industrialized, the class system (aristocracy, landowners, and feudal lords) were going to be abolished or subjugated to the bourgeoisie, finally 'the town would surely come to dominate the country, and this would be the death knell (or the transcendence) of the whole antagonism' (Lefebvre 1991, p.323).

However, as Lefebvre pointed out, capitalist expansion and 'more generally development' depends on the land; it absorbs towns and agriculture, the underground (energy, raw materials), as well as mountains, air, and planets:

Space in the sense of the earth, the ground, has not disappeared, nor has it been incorporated into industrial production; on the contrary, once integrated to capitalism it only gains in strength as a specific element or function in capitalism's expansion (1991, p.325).

The textuality of the materiality of land described by Lefebvre goes beyond the plain abstract ground of property relations to show material difference and physical variation. Referencing Marx's trinity formula in *Capital, Volume III*, Lefebvre reminds us that there are three elements: Capital, Land, and Labour:

In speaking of the earth, Marx did not simply mean agriculture. Underground resources were also part of the picture. So too was the nation state, confined within a specific territory. And hence ultimately, in the most absolute sense, politics and political strategy (1991, p.325).

Here Lefebvre's definition of land expands beyond the textual and the physical variation to also capture its relational approach defining land in association with political forms as well. What is possible to draw from this, is that land extensions and boundaries are extrinsic to land. An example that explains how things are not intrinsic but derive from associations is Lefebvre's French concept of *mondial* (1976) defined by Elden and Brenner as:

to the 'worldwide' scale as a basis for recognizing the simultaneous extension, differentiation, and fragmentation of social relations across the entire earth under contemporary capitalism (2009a, p.23)

The *mondial(ization)* also appeals to a social process of becoming (but I will discuss this point further in the Chapter). For Lefebvre, the notion of *mondial* 'delineates the contours of planetary space which does not result from the historical past but new factors (energy, techniques, strategies, productive forces)' (cited in Elden 2004, p.232). Lefebvre is alluding to the structural changes impersonated in 'supra' firms and global companies that manage and dominate the territory in their own interest (Lefebvre 2003, p.200) articulated and regulated by the state systems. Lefebvre criticizes this relation as an artificial imposition, which he attributes to a Cartesian model that dominates of social life via the homogenisation of space and time and the reduction of the material world to something measurable and calculable (Lefebvre 1991, p.1-4). But furthermore, it could also be interpreted in terms of land's hybridity, as an element that is constituted in the encounter between technology and nature (Haraway 1991) or

as in the production of quasi-objects (Latour 1993), alluding to ‘things’ like the *mondial* or *territory*.

In contrast, treating land in terms of property relations frames it in no more than ‘vulgar’ material terms (Lefebvre 2009, p.229), such as in the calculations of its properties (quality, extensions, profundity and so on) in relation to its economic value (rent). One of the early works of Doreen Massey with Alejandrina Catalano (1978) look at private ownership by capital to explain the property bubble in the 1970s. While this is a critical empirical work, explaining the role of land and capitalist class formation in modern Great Britain, their treatment of the materiality of land remains within the boundaries of its monetization: looking at ground rent form and the meaning of land for the different types of landownership. In other words, the debate lingers in the classic approach to the land question (as developed in Chapter I). But following Lefebvre approach to land’s materiality, a structuralist interpretation of Marxist political-economy runs the risk of offering a limited analysis of society. Hence, the mechanical, calculative reduction of nature resource production also reduced human life to a merely biological reproductive machine in need of food, hydration and so on (2009, p.85). Following Elden, for Lefebvre, the reduction of complex relations to pure abstractions ends up with a sterile understanding of humans and society (Elden 2004, p.35).

Lefebvre allows us to take Marx critique forward into an argument about the way land continually moves past a merely economic reduction – going beyond abstract landed property relations – and to recover land’s materiality outside a pure physical frame to be included as a category integral to society. Lefebvre’s dialectic offers an opportunity to appreciate the lived and knowledge as a process of movement (praxis) along with the structure, in an equally meaningful interaction between form, function, and structure.

## Land, the Third Element

For Lefebvre the ongoing formation of the modern world can be understood as a dialectic of becoming. This means that the dialectic is an open-ended process. The

third term (land) does not apply a resolution of a conflict but as a third conflictual element in the interaction between three parts<sup>31</sup>. Land in that sense is never complete: Land rather than 'being', 'becomes' as: world(ing), commodity, territory, estate, patrimony or many more. Lefebvre's dialectic, as Elden points out, is not the spatialization of the dialectic 'rather, the non-teleological dialectic is brought to bear on the issue of space' (2004, p.37). Lefebvre's proposal adds dimensions to our understanding of landed relations rooted in social relations and productive forces – that enable and constrain social action. For him, historical materialism should take into consideration the institutional and cultural (i.e., superstructure) 'as they are concrete conditions of existence for cultures or ways of life' (Lefebvre, 2009, p.73). This would be the way to recover the social composition of the material while not losing its abstract formations. This could explain, both, why for one person land rent is more valuable than for other – as a result of the physical quality of the land – but also the hierarchical position of the landlord as a result of that social value assigned to it. Lefebvre's dynamism is achieved by connecting the mental and abstract to the concrete. Rather than giving superior entity, as a synthesis to the economic realm, the concrete totality for Lefebvre 'is thus the conceptual elaboration of the content grasped in perception and representation (Lefebvre 2009, p.75). Thus, the inclusion of land in the dialectic of labour and capital opens up to explain that the transformation of material living conditions is constitutive in the transformation of subjects and entities.

Historical relations to land appear particular relevant under the emergence of economic structural transformations because it affects the way social relations unfold and can constrain or enable social practices. But it is also relevant because the very meanings of land as property, territory or *mondial* -as mentioned before- 'are themselves historical products of material representations and symbolic practices' (Bakke and Bridge, 2006, p.18). Following Coronil land became a constitutive element of the making of modernity. The historical role of land in producing the social position of the 'South' and its wealth as land's resources to provide to the 'North'exposes the role of land in producing the *mondial*. This means to recognize the role of the colonial

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<sup>31</sup> The other two terms are labour and capital.

space and its resources as a fundamental aspect in the configuration of capitalist social relations (2000, pp.248-9). Understanding this historical and material position of the South transfigure the temporal and spatial point of reference to think of the modern. Considering the role of the South, it is possible to grasp *mondialisation* as a permanent contested process of political-spatial struggles align with new forms of capitalism.

As Lefebvre proposes, ‘the art of living implies the end of alienation’ (2014, p.219). In order to find living experiences countering the alienation of extractive capitalist expansion I follow Lefebvre’s interest in the rural, with his concern with the peripheries. He develops a method to draw attention to everyday communal experiences of resistance, which through the recuperation of land, re-establish a mythical national connection to land as means for an emancipatory project. The inspiration for Lefebvre’s work on rural spaces is linked to his own personal history growing up in the Pyrenees region. It was there that he witnessed the spatial expansion of capital that defines, for him, the reordering of the West from rural to urban.

### *What is the Rural?*

The rural encapsulates Lefebvre’s own cultural and affective experience with his ancestral town – Lefebvre was born in Hagetmau outside but not far from the Pyrenees in 1901. Following Entrikin and Berdoulay’s (2005) analysis of Lefebvre’s Pyrenees, the rural is the site where ‘place’ can better be expressed. This is because *difference* in histories, cultures and societies can still be found. Against a homogenous imposed form of social order, in the rural the multiplicity of land is reflected in diverse human practices and livelihood. Following Kipfer, I understand Lefebvre’s difference as a ‘multidimensional struggle’, a concept ‘emerging from particular political struggles rather than the quasi-ontological, a priori conception of linguistic *différance*’<sup>32</sup> (2008, p.202). This is important because is in the concrete subject (not the linguistic mental space) where the multiplicity of the social experience can emerge. Thus, the rural is not treated as an original reality but a constant formation, and the result of social interactions.

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<sup>32</sup> The distinction is made in reference to Derrida’s non material, linguistic abstract approach to difference

At the time of his writing on rural societies<sup>33</sup> (from the 1930s), Lefebvre denounces the undeniable transformation of the rural social structure affected by large entities, such as global and national markets, states, corporations and so on. Lefebvre saw this transformation as a threat to its own 'ancestral place' (Entrikin and Berdoulay 2005, p.139). That allowed him to 'take side with the periphery' (Soja 1996, pp.29-30), with the countryside<sup>34</sup>. This is important because for Lefebvre the establishment of periphery and centre relations, is what articulates the structural formation for the colonization of everyday life and the alienation of oneself and agrarian communities. Expressed in uneven relations articulated with colonial techniques of subjection and accumulation, the modern-state takes the role 'in organizing territorial relations of centre and periphery' that produce colonial spatial forms that can be placed at any scale, between nation-states, regions, urban-rural and urban- peri-urban and so on (Goonewardena et al. 2008, p.294).

Lefebvre's dialectic method applied to the Pyrenees (doctoral thesis 1954) is one of peripheral and centre in the making, a dialectic of regions of power and regions of resistance (Entrikin and Berdoulay 2005, p.133). These poles are also crossed through notions of nationalism and land. Lefebvre's relation to the Pyrenees is similar to the one Mariátegui spoke about in Peru by which both give value to the 'situated knowledges' of people's everyday life experience, where other relations beyond domination and exploitation are developed with land. In a similar line to Mariátegui, Lefebvre makes a distinction between a nation in itself (*en soi*) expressed by nationalism and a nation for itself (*pour soi*) explained as a community of spirit. "Abstract" and "pure" individuals were of little interest to Lefebvre compared with real actors whose lives intersected with real places' (Entrikin and Berdoulay, 2005, p.135). I argued that Lefebvre was thinking in terms of *Topophilia* (Tuan 1977) or 'geographies of identities' (Entrikin and Berdoulay 2005, p.137), making of the Pyrenees the material basis for the situated-self. Lefebvre's approach to land offers a methodological shift from land

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<sup>33</sup> In *Understanding Henri Lefebvre*, Elden introduces Lefebvre original interest in rural societies referencing his early writings: his thesis in rural sociology and the *Vallée de Campan* (1963) in 1941 investigating the Western Pyrenees (2003, p.9)

<sup>34</sup> Lefebvre saw himself as part of the centre after leaving his hometown as an adolescent and moving to Paris as an adult, but still identified himself with the periphery.

as an inanimate object that becomes productive in the combination of human labour and technology to the living world of objects as constitutive of social relations.

### *Progressive-Regressive Method*

In order to analyse the colonization of the everyday life and its resistance, Lefebvre suggest the regressive-progressive approach in the balance of history and sociology. This carries with two kinds of complexity: first, the horizontal level of techniques and structural relations, and second, the vertical level of historical development. These two levels 'intertwine, intersect and interact, hence a confused mass of facts that only a sound methodology can disentangle' (Lefebvre 2003, p.113). The theoretical model consists of three parts:

- 1) *Descriptive*. Observation but with an eye informed by experience and by a general theory. In the foreground: participant observation in the field. Careful use of survey techniques (interviews, questionnaires, statistics).
- 2) *Analytic-regressive*. Analysis of the reality as described. Attempt to give it a precise *date* (so as not to be limited to an account turning to un-dated 'archaisms' that are not compared with one with another).
- 3) *Historico-genetic*. Studies of changes in this or that previously *dated* structure, by further (internal or external) development and by its subordination to the overall structure. Thus, an attempt to return to the contemporary as previously described, in order to rediscover the present, but as elucidated, understood: *explained*. (Lefebvre 2003, p.117, italics from the original)

Lefebvre explains the progressive-regressive method as a general framework to understand a process in the interaction and influence between old and new structures that are subordinated or integrated to them (Lefebvre 2003, p.117). Lefebvre designed his rural sociology to elucidate peasant conditions, exposing the contradictions of the mode of productions and survivals of ideologies and beliefs and their structural domains. Methodologically, rural sociology set up basic investigations, first, by looking at the structural market and capitalist conditions. Second, it studies the agrarian community: its dissolution, survivals and resurgences. It pays attention to social forms showing the movement from kinship ties to those of territoriality (the latter emerging

victorious from the conflict) also stressing differentiations, hierarchies, proximity relations, etc. Third, in this systematization, he finally proposes developing a typology of villages delineating its types:

Communities that are still alive – communities in decay – individualist villages- villages affected or modified by proximity to a commercial or industrial town, by large-land ownership, or by cooperation (Lefebvre 2003, p.119)

Lefebvre's introduction to the Spanish edition to *Du Rural a l'urbain* explains the subordination to urban life:

We are facing a bifurcation, that comes from a new object, from a change in the practice...a product of the industrialization and modernization, glory of France and the Republic (1978, p.11)

Then he describes how Mourenx in the Pyrenees was built with the bulldozers going through the Tejas bearnés (the old name of the town), just a few steps away from the most modern companies of France (in Lacq), among the oil deposits and natural gas, rising to what would become a city (1978, p.11). The transition from the rural to the urban it is expressed as a process of abstraction, in the transformation of the identity-based nation (*pour soi*) to a state-nation (*en soi*), in a subordination of land to a capitalist global process. The detailed description of material elements of nature, such as oil deposits and natural gas, explains what Neil Smith calls the industrial 'Production of Nature' (2010, ch.2). It is a description about extension: the production of nature takes a new scale by becoming directly an object for exchange (2010, p.65). However, it is also a reference to a new proximity and direction, using the production of commodities as the articulator and the means for the development of the urban. Finally, is a reflexion of the role of the material nature, the type of knowledge associated with it (expressed in the modes of exploitation, use, exchange) constitutive of the development of an 'urban' set of social relations. The very material visual description of the bulldozer over Tejas bearnés – a town that has even changed its name in the phase of urbanization- shows how for Lefebvre these societies were becoming fossilized.



The problem that Lefebvre wants to denounce looking at the Pyrenees' societies becoming permeated by urbanisation was its invasion of every aspect of life, affecting landed relations, relations of production and cultural and sociological changes (1978, p.3). Under a process of urban domination social spaces become exclusively organized to support and regulate the networks and flows of capitalism to reach a *mondial* scale. The new calculative science and mathematical reason, elaborated in rationalism becomes dominant in the urban experience, also affecting the perception of the rural in the production of a binary between the urban and the rural, portraying the city as cultivated space in contrast to the rural as naïve and brutal (Lefebvre 2014, p.12).

### *Land's Vitality*

Following Lefebvre's dialectic, land as one of the factor of the trinity<sup>35</sup>, allow this thesis to explore capitalism as a wording process, in the production of centres and peripheries, rather than a self-realisation in Europe. For that, I depart from the Pyrenees to look at the role of the South as a periphery. Touching upon decolonial perspectives, I look to the subaltern modernities (Coronil 1997, p.7). This means including the role of land in the relation to capital and labour as an explanatory factor for the mutual constitution of Europe and its colonies as one entangled process. Fernando Coronil (1997) uses Lefebvre's land dialectic, to show how modern Europe does not rise alone, and the periphery is not such because of its own nature. In this praxis, American colonization explains social exploitation articulated to natural exploitation (Coronil 2000, p.248), creating the West as the centre of civilization and the rest as the periphery, and the source of cheap labour and natural resources. With this perspective it is possible to appreciate the dark side of modernity. Under this guise, the 'colonial' primitive accumulation rather than being the precondition of capitalist development is a fundamental condition of its internal dynamic (Coronil, 2000, p.249).

Lefebvre's approach to land recovers the materiality of nature, showing that land is not an ordinary object for possession. In his work on rural societies Lefebvre initiated

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<sup>35</sup> I am not taking a particular order to explain these factors – Capital, Land and, Labour. Following Lefebvre's approach this is not a relevant consideration as this are co-constitutive elements with no hierarchies, nor covering different roles, such as thesis antithesis and synthesis.

a trend of looking at place, not just in connection to the self (Entrikin and Berdoulay 2005, p.137) but also in articulating the notion of nationhood alongside place. This is a political approach to land from the periphery: a bonded relation to land that establishes a nation otherwise with an undetermined – unfixed – geometry. Local cultures evolve out of the encounter of new contingencies and the resistance of homogenization and in some radical cases, in the search for differences to capitalist modernization. What is relevant of Lefebvre's dialectic of land, is that it goes against a teleology of land and identity – meaning a situated teleology of development - but also against land's fetishism – as an entity with no intrinsic qualities – connecting land to a 'thing' formed between physicality and causality (Bakker and Bridge 2006, p.8).

As previously discussed, Lefebvre defines rural communities, a nation *pour soi*, as 'the shape of the people'. For him the spatial shape of people as community appears when there is 'fixation to the ground' (1978, p.26). He explains this process either in a neutral or a positive light that relates people in a quasi-romantic explanation in terms of structural and cultural attachments to the ground (in the direct connection of the labour to the land, and histories of mother earth and so on). However, fixity in the Rural South unfolds a different story. The history in the making of the modern Global South is one of land fixation tied to a colonial history. This equates to a history of forceful confinement of landed relations.

The non-state notion of 'nation' and the fixation to the ground will be further explored turning to Foucault and his work on technologies of power and confinement (1991). In the combination of Lefebvre and Foucault works applied on rural spaces and enclosure as technology of confinement, I will expand on land's active role moving between technologies of land enclosure, in the formation of subjects, as modern political-economic units, and enclosure as subjectivity, as experiencing beings.

## Section II: Land Enclosure, a Foucauldian approach to Technologies of Ordering from the Global South

*Land as property* responds to a coded system performed in the everyday life enacted in the payment of taxes, the use of fences, mapping and regulation that is formally protected by juridical and legislative regulation and so on. However, this over-coding of land explained in discourses and material enactments is still contested in remote locations. Local people still try to perform other activities that reflect other forms of knowledges expressing other existing relations to land. Following Foucault's argument in *Discipline and Punish* (1991) this thesis further explores power relation between subjectivity and subject formation in relation to land and power. In the following sections, against the domination of the urban governance in the use of Foucault, I will apply Foucault's analysis of technology of enclosure in the rural setting. With Foucault's contribution and the interpretations around his work on land governance, it is possible to explore how the attachment to land as well as the forceful fixity to land produces subjects articulated to a political-economic project as well as a situated affective subjectivity.

Analysing the modern administration of nature allows us to draw Foucault's concept of power and knowledge into a discussion of land relations. For Foucault, the knowledge in the modern age is deployed as a tool of power for regulation and control over objects and people. This can also be applied to land relations. Blomley (2013, 2007, and 2003) and Li (2014) touch upon this point, expanding in their own interpretation of Foucault's analytic over the governance of nature. Water, air and land are basic elements of 'nature' that under modern techniques of disciplinary power become objectified as 'natural resources', and transfigured as a materiality to be used, sold and negotiated as property. Under the legal and material coding the language of rights and private property has come to be the exclusive way in which we discuss nature. However, natural resources have no 'intrinsic quality' as a 'resource' (Li, 2014, p.589). Following Li, property as another understanding of land, should be seen as a provisional assemblage of heterogeneous elements that includes, material things,

technologies, discourses and practices (2014, p.589). As such, knowledge covers a constitutive role in the determination of 'natural resources'.

Following Foucault, I consider how truth-claims emerging from 'knowledge', such as *land as property* or 'natural resources' can be used as a political tactic to exercise disciplinary power. In Foucault's work on the prison system, the 'epistemologico-juridical' formation linked to punishment make a technology of power transforming disciplinary forms and 'the knowledge of man' (Foucault 1991, p.23). In this light, I explore enclosure of land as a technology of power in the discipline of bodies and souls in the postcolonial countryside. I use Foucault's analysis of technologies of enclosure to be extended to non-institutional environments to demonstrate how power-knowledge 'produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth' (Foucault 1991, p.194).

Following Foucault, the regulation of space plays a fundamental role in the exercise of governing power (Foucault 1991a, p.252). For that I will further use Foucault's analysis to propose land in its different relations (property, territory and patrimony) as a new field of operation (respectively Chapter I, III, and V). My aim is to enable spatial disciplines to explore the racial violence implicit in colonial regulations of landed relations, while also playing a role as sites of resistance. In this section I will first present Foucault's notion of power and modern modes of governing presented in *Discipline and Punish* (1991) to understand how land is 'powerfully shaped by the concept of property' (Soja 1971, p.9) producing, simultaneously, a calculable thing in the domain of political economy and individual subjects. This introduction reflects on the fundamental role of space in the exercise of power (Foucault 1991a, p.252) in modern Western societies. Then I will continue with Li (2011), Blomley (2003), Moore (2005) and Comaroff (2001) that expand in spacing as a constitutive violent vector of colonial power (Blomley 2003, p.129) following their interpretations of Foucault on colonial geographies.

## Power and government

Foucault does not investigate power as a property but through its exercise, looking at the microphysics of power. By this he means a power that is strategic:

That its effects of domination are attributed not to ‘appropriation’, but to dispositions, manoeuvres, tactics, techniques, functioning; that one should decipher in it a network of relations, constantly in tension (Foucault 1991, p.26).

This means that Foucault is looking at power in a positive sense as a productive technique in which power is deployed over the body. For Foucault, bodies are central to analyse power in modern social relations because it is where subjectivity operates. For him society becomes the political body of modern Western power relations. But Foucault also had a spatial notion of where power operates. He describes those societal relations as an ‘archipelago of different powers’ (Foucault, 2007, p.156) and a ‘carceral archipelago’ (Foucault 1991, p.297). In the interview with Hérodote, ‘Questions on Geography’, Foucault explains the use of the concept of the archipelago<sup>36</sup>, inspired by the book ‘The Gulag Archipelago’ (Solzhenitsyn 1974)<sup>37</sup>, to explain power relations in society:

A carceral archipelago: the way in which a form of punitive system is physically dispersed yet at the same time covers the entirety of society (Foucault 2007, p.176).

He sees the formation of the state apparatuses forming out of specific localized and regional powers, such as property, slavery, the workshop and the army (Foucault 2007, p.156-7). For Foucault, the ‘carceral archipelago’ acts as an analogy informing how the penitentiary system became widespread in throughout society – outside the boundaries of the prison- in the disciplinary normalization of Western society. The ‘carceral net’ explains a ‘society that is dominated by penitentiary techniques’ (Schwan and Shapiro 2011, p.165-168). Thus, it is possible to say that Foucault shows an alertness on the

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<sup>36</sup> At the time of the interview Foucault says that the only ‘truly geographical’ notion that he ever used was at the lecture *Meshes of Power* in 1976 in Brazil.

<sup>37</sup> The Gulags were the forced-labour camps system around the USSR operating as a chain of islands only known by those forced to go and those in control of that knowledge

correlation between space and power and its disciplinary arraignment for modern political government.

Looking at land and power, the system of private property became dominant since the fifteen-sixteen in Western Europe and extensively to the world. The right way of disposing the relation between land and people in function of the market place and capitalist interest has become one of (self) control, (self) competition and (self) exploitation. Blomley (2003) and Li (2014) both expand on Foucault's account to explain the formation of the modern regime of property as a means of modern governance for the postcolonial context. In the juridical realm, land was affected by the transformation to this abstract form of power in 'the creation of new spaces of property' (Blomley 2003, p.129). In the economic sense, land was eventually transformed into a limited scarce resource that simultaneously acquired monetary value. Land as private property became a legitimate system of exclusion. In this new spatial regime of exclusion, land lost its multiple 'affordances' (Li 2014, p.589) in 'moral economy' to become dominated by 'political-economy' and ruled by exchanged value. This meant effectively that access to land stop being granted by discourses of historical bonds and subsistence needs but by productivity, yield gaps and marketization. The formation of land as an abstract space, as presented in Chapter I, helps make a world that exists, 'not as a set of social practices, but as a binary order: individuals and their practices set against' (Blomley 2003, p.126). Under this technological shift, and returning to Foucault's argument about rationalities of government, land becomes amputated from the sovereign body and gets coded as disembodied, abstract power. This new relation to land in its exclusive exploitation have real (material) effects that 'crystallize into institutions they inform individual behaviour, they act as grids of the perception and evaluation of things' (Foucault 1991, p.81).

### *Enclosure, Space and Discipline*

Enclosure in Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1991) is presented as a technique covering the spatial aspects of disciplinary power. Its workings, divided in four points, are found in *the art of distributions* for the discipline of individuals in space (Foucault 1991, p.141). First, enclosure protects the 'place of disciplinary monotony'. The goal is to avoid revolts, fix the subject and to derive advantage from their placement.

Second, enclosure requires *partitioning*, avoiding gatherings to ‘break up collective dispositions’, in other words, making subjects legible. Third, enclosure operates as *functional sites* in also creating economically useful spaces, in the making of efficient bodies. Fourth, enclosed spaces have a *rank*, someone’s location (the classroom in Foucault’s example) defines one’s value in a space assemblage in a serial order.

While much critical writing on Discipline and Punish (Foucault, 1991) has focused on surveillance in cities (Merry 2001, Graham 2013), I find Foucault’s analysis of enclosure as technology useful for understanding the formation of (political) subjects and (affective) subjectivities in the modern countryside. While Foucault’s analysis is restricted to institutions, non-institutional spaces such as rural communities, ecological/natural reserves, plantations, fishery aquaculture, to mention some, are insightful spaces to understand disciplinary ordering of globalization of modern societies. Foucault uses technologies of enclosure to refer to architectural confinement (in schools, military barracks, hospitals and prisons) and the compartmentalization of social life. He speaks of this process in relation to ‘the redistribution of illegalities’ where the bourgeoisie emerges, guided by the interest of the control over the means of production to become the hegemonic political group (Foucault 1991, p.87). Spatial enclosure can be also productively explored outside the physical space of the institution and the urban experience.

In the countryside, the systematic enclosure of land is a reminder of the carceral net but not just as a metaphor for society regimentation but also in its material form ordering social space and disciplining bodies. As a co-constitutive relation, the exclusive and excluding aspect of property relationships also affects the body. Following the path of the embodiment of the prison, I deploy here the concept of embodiment capturing both, human and land, to explain how subject(ivity) emerges, not from consciousness, but from the physical experience, constructed through discourses and material enactments. The modern grid pattern of the countryside assimilates to an open jail system (where everything is enclosed and there is no notion of an outside of the spatial grid any longer) operating in the interest of competition, exclusivity and exclusion and accumulation while also re-defining the way we conceive land, rural spaces and their people.

Thinking of the role of enclosure as a technology entails a rationality, practices and a spatial form that produces certain kinds of subjectivity implicated in project of government that offer a mode of ruling (Huxley 2007, p.192) in the production of what Nikolas Rose calls, 'regimes of truth' (1999, p.19). As I showed in Chapter I with the work of Locke, the enclosure of *land as property* was aligned to a spatial rationality that established a legitimate hierarchical order of individual subjects. It created grids of social control while simultaneously enabling the formation of a liberal, free, subject. As this thesis argues, the restructuring of the countryside - with the arrival of a new political-economic regime of extractive capitalism and the revaluation of land as a potential financial resource - also implies the transformation of the project of government and the mode of ruling over rural spaces. Innovative technologies of production and new centres of economic power (guided by the interest of global corporations) are affecting the 'liberal' dominant distribution between people and land regimented by property relations expressed in a change in the economy of alterity between people and lands.

Under the needs of extractive capitalism and the arrival of technologies of ordering the body is neglected at the centre of disciplinary utility. Technologies of ordering such as SEZ (special economic zone) and EEZ (economic exclusive zone) are contemporary forms of land enclosure that are becoming new formulas for the ordering of bodies in the countryside, particularly in the Global South. Following a changing pattern of capitalism and power new 'appropriate' forms of restricted use improves state capacity – via improved technology and scientific investigation (Baletti 2012, p.584) – for the improvement of land governance. In these instances, the reason for enclosure dismisses the role of the production of a liberal subject, in favour of productive land that no longer needs human labour power to create surplus value; this changes the political status of the body and affects the social role of land and the countryside in the global economic order, because the land itself produces surplus value.

However, locating the historical development of enclosure, private property, and extensively, the modern-nation state territory in the colonial context shows some of



the limitations of Foucault's approach and why it is necessary to expand beyond his work. The articulation of law and scientific knowledge (maps, cadastral surveys), or in other words, reason and force, unwrap specific practices in the situatedness of the colonial context. The advancement of this abstract form of land, enabled a military conquest because, as Blomley expresses, 'violence is not an outcome of law but its realisation' (2003, p.129). In the colonies the discourse of the 'state of nature', and consequently, the unlawful is materialized making the repressive side of power justified. In contrast with the European experience, in which land privatization was also supported by institutional mechanisms and the spatial forms of disciplinary spaces of confinement such as prisons and discourses apparatus, the colonial perspective expose a more violent side of power relations where the repressive side of power is never dissipated. Rather than installing a subtle power device to create docile bodies, the colonial experience is traversed by a repressive power explaining a differential exploitation over land and bodies. This is an aspect of power relations that has been explored by feminist and postcolonial critics such as Silvia Federici (2004) and Achille Mbembe (2003), which recuperate, in different ways, difference in race, gender and class as guiding principles for social and economic exploitation. I draw these critiques into my argument in greater detail in the following sections.

In line with this critique, land enclosure (as a continuation from the body), forming the figurative external body of modern subjectivity, has also been operating as counter-power. Post-colonial indigenous landed confinements are crucial today for identity-based contestation, also affecting the political boundaries of enclosure. Rural communities claim their fixity to land attributing affective value to communal 'ancestral' land. This landed identity grants land history, nationality, culture and knowledge value. This materialized excess of spatial discipline in the postcolonial context, is forming its own horizontal linkages and non-hierarchical networks among communities with historical attachments to land. Communal strategic use of the colonial devices (such as racialized enclosure) is crucial for a decolonial imagination, and confront the political articulation of the notion of race, and as Segato suggest, it serves as a principle 'to destabilize the profound structure of coloniality' (2007, p.144).

In summary, enclosure, as a spatial technology of power, against its Marxist economic simplification, from a Foucauldian register covers a role of specific mode of subjection (Foucault, 1991, p.24) and a site of power contestation. Enclosure in its different forms explains private property and the right to vote, collective property and indigeneity, intellectual property rights, land regulation, production certification to mention some. Following Huxley in 'Geographies of Governmentalities' (Ch.20):

A broader understanding of the way space figures in rationalities of government...[allow us] to examine the *causal and productive* powers attributed to spaces and environments in aspiration to catalyse appropriate comportment and subjectivities (2007, p.193).

As is the case in the postcolonial context, the relationship between people and land is still a powerful one in the production of political and social subjects. In Moore's word looking at the multiple territories in the modern-colonial geography of Kaerazi (Zimbabwe) 'postcolonial governing technologies ...produce subjection to government, as well as subjects of action' (2005, p.6). In sum, land enclosure becomes powerful means to develop regimes of discipline, individualization, regulation and subjectivity. In the next section I argue for a departure from Foucault's mapping of power to locate the research in the postcolonial setting.

### *Postcolonial Governmentalities*

The persistence of a colonial form of power in the Global South covers a critical role in the unpacking of the different landed relationships emerging under the expansion of extractive capitalism. This sub-section makes a first introduction to consider the role of race in the way political thought is being spatialized, considering it a crucial foundation for the territorialisation of capitalism. This quest adds a new layer to this thesis central question of how extractive capitalism transforms landed relations in the Global South.

Enclosure moves beyond maps and titles. Sometimes what is registered is not where the real division lies, and sometimes rural communities do not recognize those markers. Enclosure's materiality becomes relevant in defining and contesting lands' control and ownership. More importantly, land framing can create different forms of

subjectivity and relations between humans and with nature. Enclosure, in comparison with a prison or a school (in Foucault's examples) might not mean a material construction but more broadly it becomes the basic edifice for the establishment of the modern-colonial socio-spatial ordering in postcolonial geographies.

The study of land governance in the postcolonial context, as argued in the previous section, demands a methodological and theoretical departure from Foucault's mapping of power. Methodologically, Moore's ethnographic work in Kaerizi highlights the discursive value of situated practices, against the classic methodological approach of archival work in the Western hemisphere. For Moore, the rural postcolonial context needs to operate with:

Political technologies in an assemblage of practices, apparatuses, and techniques, rather than reducing any regime of rule to a singular 'logic', 'grammar', or 'rationality' (2005, p.8).

The formation of the modern-colonial countryside articulates with prior formations where 'emergent projects of colonial rule and postcolonial rule articulate with shifting sedimentations of subjection and spatiality' (2005, p.9).

Additionally, enclosure cannot be only studied by the search of documentation of titles and successions. We can not solely look at the plans or the maps. Theoretically, enclosure in postcolonial rural settings responds to many logics, as Moore traces, from local decolonial political projects to global corporate ones. But against Foucault's premise of subtle disciplinary violence the enactment of land governance remains openly violent. With these methodological and theoretical adjustments, it is possible to bring back to the centre the violent link between reason (knowledge) and force (power). Land governance under an emergent new economic-political regime, shows how in the everyday practices, rather than operating in a subtle spatial adjustment, what it takes place is a 'lawfare' that is to say 'the effort to conquer and control indigenous people by the coercive use of legal means' (Comaroff 2001, p.306). Force and struggle still remains the main mode of operation of land relation. Changing paradigms of governance in the ex-colonies –from royalty to liberal independence movements, to

the current phase of neoliberal extractivism – have not modified the historical radical frontier that the South represented.

The concepts of property and territory are still performing semantic, epistemologically and in everyday life. While there is recognition in the modern Western world of cultural diversity outside the West, there is a dismissal of any epistemological diversity or of its relevance (de Sousa Santos, 2009, p.184-5). From colonialism and imperialism, to coloniality and modern state territory and modern property, a series of legal, juridical and philosophical instituting practices were materially enacted in the normalization of the monopoly of violence (modern nation-state system), the establishment of a moral economy of dispossession (private property), punishment to resistance (carceral system), and the embodiment of the falsification of the self (race as a border). The modern Western institutions of development have become tools for the expansion of a homogeneous space hastening the destruction of the ‘ecology of knowledges’ (de Sousa Santos 2009, p.183). As a result, it appears that the imbrications of domination and scientific knowledge are structured in an un-located and disembodied modern epistemology, meaning they project universally and have a universal(ising) mission.

In order to continue looking at the governance of land relations from the Global South I return to Lefebvre’s notion of *mondial* and complement it with Brazilian geographer Milton Santos’ concept of *mundial* to explain the articulation of the earth to the Western logo. As referred before *mondial* perspective means the expansion of capital and the change of the ‘state reason’ (Lefebvre 2009a, p.82). As a practice, Santos’s addition to *mundial* (1988) specifies the expansion of capital by explaining it as well with the epistemological condition of the mundialization of the *West*:

Culture universalization and life models, universalization of a rationality in the service of capital morally erect and equally universalized. Universalization of a merchant ideology conceived abroad, universalisation of space, of society turn *Mundial* and men [and women] threaten by total alienation (Santos 1988, p.6)

Santos agrees with Lefebvre in the geographical expansion and intensity of the capitalist accumulation process, however his point of reference: the periphery,

becomes relevant in developing this concept. This distinction is important to explore land relations because the *mundial* attempts to highlight its ideological components of Western (neo)colonization/universalisation. Following Santos, under this global dominant form, regional production processes disappear while territories and possibilities of territorialisation are forcefully integrated into a global logic (1988, p.49). My own contribution to this perspective, by focusing in the modern-colonial spatialization of land and in contrast to the world system (Wallerstein 1974), is the input offered by the *mondial* in not abolishing the local (Lefebvre 1991, p.86) and recognizing it as a potential meaningful space for resistance. This multilayer assemblage of rationalities and forms of governance, global and local, is what it makes the ensemble of the Rural South so complex between ancestral, colonial, postcolonial, and modern forms. It is important to clarify how decolonial studies, use the concept of modern-colonial and world system. While they draw on Wallerstein's world-system theory<sup>38</sup> (1974), it is mostly used as a metaphor (Mignolo 2000, p.36). Notwithstanding, the colonial perspective is not interested in defining how many years the world-system has (Gunder Frank and Gills, 1992), or the age of capitalism (Arrighi 1996) but what it finds relevant is the emergence of a commercial circuit of the Atlantic in the sixteen centuries that is critical in the history of capitalism and the modern-colonial world (Mignolo 2000, p.36).

From this spatial and epistemological positioning, I combine the work of Foucault (1991, 2004) and decolonial theory (Mignolo, 2010; Escobar, 2008, Coronil, 2000, Machado, 2014, Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010) to explore 'the power of land' to look at how race was assembled and incorporated into the landscape of the modern-colonial countryside.

### Section III: The Power of Land

This section explores the operations of coloniality and resistance to it under the expansion of extractive capitalism in the countryside. I explore what forms the spatialization of race/racialization take under the expansion of extractive capitalism in the countryside. Understanding the colonial dimension of landed relations will help this thesis to explore what is the role of race in the constitution and performance of landed relations and how is it changing under the emergence of extractive capitalism in the framing of the modern-colonial countryside. Taking enclosure as a colonial artefact, I will explain the ways by which ‘racial difference’ is produced in order to discipline people and fix them to land and how is used as means of power contestation.

Given that this thesis pays attention to the location of emerging ideas, notions and discourses (such as property, *mundial*, extractivism to mention some), I explain the geographical context and position of the authors I have chosen incorporate here. I follow the ‘political economy of knowledge’<sup>39</sup> (Rivera Cusicanqui, 2012, p.102) of authors that I am discussing in the thesis in order to inform on a critical point of this thesis about *Situated Knowledges* (Haraway 1988), because our own position (physical, material and discursive) matters. These thinkers – from Locke, Grotius, Marx, to Harvey, Mignolo to Cusicanqui – are all situated within webs of race, class and gender as well as with their object/subject of study. Depending how it is conceived, thinking of land, this entity is perceived as a living entity with knowledge and agency or is treated as dead matter with potential to become a productive and a speculative financial asset. This assessment is also affected by how we relate to land in our everyday experience, hence the way thinkers write about it. From the critical court, it is not the same affective involvement for a ‘decolonial project’ writing from North Carolina or New

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<sup>39</sup> Cusicanqui uses the ‘political economy’ of knowledge against the concept of ‘geopolitics of knowledge’ applied by Mignolo to designate the imaginaries of the South. She contests this notion because it is applied as solely a gesture but does not leave the sphere of the linguistic and the superstructure. Cusicanqui wants to demystify the role of the struggle of the South and indigenous people as one of economic strategies and material mechanism. In this same light, she denounce the ‘gesture’ to the ideas and intellectuals from the South that are capitalised by those in the North, becoming the source of salaries and teaching and publishing opportunities while in the Latin America universities are being empty and come dependent of the patronage of the North (Rivera Cusicanqui 2012, pp.102-3).

York than from Catamarca, Argentina (open pit Mining Alumbreira ltd.) or Bolivia (facing the worst drought in twenty-six years result of unrestricted deforestation under the expansion of soybean agroindustry) where extractivism takes place. I am not claiming that this positionality is determinant of these epistemologies of land, but these distinctions accompany different paths of critical work. As such, Aymaran scholar-activist Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui's approach to decolonial thinking contrasts with the emphasis the decolonial group<sup>40</sup> to find concepts and vocabulary 'outside' Western paradigms (disciplines, perspectives and fields of knowledges) (Castro Gomez and Grosfoguel 2007, p.17). For Cusicanqui, in contrast to the decolonial group:

There can be no discourse of decolonization, no theory of decolonization, without a decolonizing practice...it is necessary to leave the sphere of the superstructures in order to analyse the economic strategies and material mechanisms that operate behind discourses (2012, pp.98-102).

As presented in the critical historiography of *land as property* in Chapter I, dominant discourses around land have been oriented to political-economy; under *The decolonial turn* (Castro-Gómez y Ramón Grosfoguel 2007) however this approach suffers the risk of creating a new academic canon:

building pyramidal structures of power and symbolic capital — baseless pyramids that vertically bind certain Latin American universities—and form clientelist networks with indigenous and black intellectuals (Cusicanqui 2012, p.97).

The 'Power of Land' section is elaborated under this tension between discourses, material enactments and structural conditions attempting to not lose ground over the centrality of social space for land relations. Keeping this problem in mind is crucial because it reveals different treatments of the 'matter' of land, ranging from creating

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<sup>40</sup> The decolonial group is formally named as the 'Proyecto Latino/latinoamericano modernidad/colonialidad' or *Proyecto Modernidad/Colonialidad/Decolonialidad*. Their members are Walter Mignolo from Duke University, Arturo Escobar Chapel Hill University, Edgardo Lander (Central University of Caracas) and Ramon Grosfoguel (Berkley) Maldonado Torres (Brown University), Anibal Quijano (based in Venezuela, director of Anuario Mariateguiano), Dussel, Coronil, Castro-Gomez (Pontificia Universidad Javeriana de Bogotá), Catherine Walsh (Universidad Andina Simon Bolivar)

boundaries and expanding networks, as well as explaining alternative assemblages between land, power-knowledge and race. As a result, different branches of critical thought looking at colonial forms of subjugation in modern societies arrive at different spatial imaginations, ranging from the creation of motley spaces or in perusing purist notions of exclusive and excluding space, both in tune with ontological assumptions about land and the role of native populations in the modern world.

## Coloniality

Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano explains the specificity of race in Latin America not as corresponding to a genotype, but as a historical mechanism. He coined the term “coloniality of power” (cited in Quijano 2010) which explains that the fundamental axis of power operating in modern society is a social classifier of world population around the idea of race. This form of othering corresponds to a location and to a locality; it is a process of racial placing. It explains the production of race as a border for domination, subjugation and conquest. These structures are founded on a notion of human development departing from a state of nature (America) that arrives at modernity (located in Europe) while creating a dividing notion of European and non-European ‘as natural (racial) differences and not consequences of a history of power’ (Quijano, 2000, p.542). It refers to an Eurocentric classifier articulating power relations from which the hegemonic Western perspective of knowledge is organised in colonial power structures.

The term coloniality, or neo-colonialism, or what Pablo Casanova calls ‘internal colonialism’ (2006), is currently applied by a broad group of critical studies all theoretically influenced by the experience of resisting social movements in Latin America. In the 1990s, a tradition emerged around the project of ‘decolonial thinking’ (Quijano, Lander, Escobar, Mignolo, among others) thinking about the maintenance of colonial structural of power articulated to the establishment of a modern/capitalist world system (KULA, 2012, p.9). It is important to distinguish, however, between colonialism and coloniality: colonialism as a political system is over, but coloniality – referring to the apparatuses of domination and exploitation – of colonial violence (Fanon, 1967) persist.



Coloniality was coined as a term that condensed the notion of the other side of modernity, or, as Mignolo calls it, *the darker Side of Western Modernity* (2011). The development and expansion of this line of work made coloniality of power (and other extensions) key concepts among Latin Americanist scholars. It became an active proposal for thinking that ‘another world was possible’ (Foro Social Mundial 2001) along with notions of pluriverse, indigenous constitutions (i.e.: Ecuador 2008; Bolivia 2009) and emerging academic terminologies attempting to transform colonial epistemologies through the realm of discourse practices (with neologisms such as decolonial, transmodernity, pluriverse and so on).

Other academics (Gonzalez Casanova 2006, Rivera Cusicanqui 2010, Machado 2014; de Sousa Santos 2009, among others), activist scholars and militants – while not reducible to opposing a homogenous set of perspectives – share a scepticism around a ‘coloniality of power’. Instead they employ concepts of ‘internal colonialism’, ‘colonialism’ or ‘neo-colonialism’ (Gonzalez Casanova, 2006, Rivera Cusicanqui, 2010, Caniuqueo Huircapan 2011, Mezzadra 2006); or plainly ‘coloniality’ (Machado 2014, de Sousa Santos 2009) to explain contemporary modes of colonial power relations taking place in Latin America. Rivera Cusicanqui is critical of this emerging theoretical group of decolonial thinking emerging from the (North) American academia. She argues that while there is a long tradition among academics, communities and activists reflecting and actively struggling in response to contemporary conditions of oppression and colonial structures, an emerging body of knowledge produced by Latin Americanists working in the West has created a new academic canon of thought around ‘geopolitics of knowledge’ furthering away the radical aspects of any decolonial project (Cusicanqui 2012. P.103).

Cusicanqui touches upon the tension between space and knowledge. Searching for the spatial element of the decolonial project, it is necessary to criticise the primacy that philosophers have given to epistemological thinking. As Lefebvre questioned in his own writings, in the assumption that knowledge is “‘structurally” linked to the spatial sphere’ (1991, p.4). Cusicanqui also expresses frustration with the Western decolonial project headed by ‘Mignolo and co.’, calling it a neutralisation of ‘practices of decolonization by enthroning within the academy a limited and illusory discussion

regarding modernity and decolonization' (Cusicanqui 2012, p.104). The radical element of the decolonial is dissipated when limited to academia – knowledge and discourse – and excluded from social space. Mignolo's 'border epistemology' (Mignolo 2010, 2012) looks at the experiences of subaltern communities on the margins of modernity. However, this enforces the idea that modernity can have an 'outside'. Seeking the margins of modernity can become a return to Cartesian/Western logos, returning to a binary opposition between the modern/colonial, the urban/rural, and the margins/the centre of modernity. This is, however, difficult to find in space, as Lefebvre contests:

Epistemological thought, in concert with the linguists' theoretical efforts, has reached a curious conclusion. It has eliminated the "collective subject," the people as creator of a particular language, as carrier of specific etymological sequence (1991, p.4).

My intention here is to expose this permanent theoretical tension that runs along academic research coming from the North and otherwise and working in the South – also affecting my own positionality as a white South American researching from the North. Cusicanqui's critique of academic discourses on decolonial thought coming from the West (Mignolo, Quijano, Walsh, etc.) also reflects on the modern dimensions of indigeneity (Cusicanqui 2012, p.96) as one of entanglement with modern practices in places – markets, shantytowns, cities, mining centres, industrial plantations, among others. In the same way, when Lefebvre explains the science of space (1991), he also brings the dialectic triad of knowledge, discourse and practice. Lefebvre targets Chomsky's work on Cartesian linguistics (1966), to point out that Chomsky 'completely ignores the yawning gap that separates this linguistic mental space from that social space wherein language becomes practice' (Lefebvre 1991, p.5). In the same vein criticisms of the semiotician Mignolo, from post-colonial scholars like Cusicanqui, have emphasised the place of decolonisation practices to pay attention to 'economic strategies and material mechanisms that operate behind discourses' (Cusicanqui 2012, p.102). Lefebvre's dialectic reminds us that we are looking for the 'concrete subject' that creates its own terminology in the practice.

The theoretical framework of this thesis looks to separate itself from this mental-space, whereas Lefebvre would say 'space is fetishized and the mental realm comes to envelop

the social and physical ones' (Lefebvre 1991, p.5). This analytical framework attempts to move away from purist notions of indigeneity and look for those collectives that create their own language that is 'inserted into the contemporary world' (Cusicanqui 2012, p.95). The dialectic treatment of land also deals with the risk of fetishizing land. As argued before, land has no intrinsic qualities. Land is not a category external to society. This means that land's materiality is the result of the mutual production of social relations and nature (Escobar 2008, p.126). That is why the boundaries drawn by Mignolo between the modern and the outside the modern are so dangerous, because they reify a notion of indigeneity as a pre-colonial site and not as a result of a complex assemblage of power-knowledge and space. While in Chapter I, land as property has been shown as a process of mutual constitution between people and land, the same dynamic relation should not be applied to native communities and land. Ancestral lands for native communities derive as such by associations and resistance. The attachment to land also operates to an extent entangled in colonial European enlightenment of land as property. The notion of 'ancestral territory' is not intrinsic in the land but is a result of a process of connection between the non-human (land) and human, social construction and strategic political uses. In the next subsection, the colonial imbrication of social relation in space through the prism of race will be further developed.

### *Space and Coloniality*

As Mignolo suggests, the visibility of the colonial difference in the Modern world emerges with the independent movements from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries (Mignolo 2000, p.36). Then, capitalism and modernity appear to emerge from Europe becoming the centre of the world - and the colonized periphery re-emerges, in its redemptive sacrifice, as civilization (Dussel 1993, p.65). In this new spatial colonial disposition, as Mezzadra describes:

West's project of colonial exploitation, and the resistance against it no longer organise a cartography capable of unequivocally distinguishing the metropolis from the colonies since they shatter and recompose themselves continuously on a global scale (2006, p.2)

Hence, it is important to highlight that under an emerging modern-colonial countryside land contestation operates in a more diffuse spatial ordering in the uneven ensemble of centre and periphery in the same regions of the Global South. Likewise the calibration between race and borders start to gain flexibility. It is in this new global economy of alterity that the relation of land and race become under question.

From the postcolonial perspective, we cannot disentangle from the constitutive role of colonial violence in the formation of the global geography of modernity (Machado 2015, p.176). Instead of thinking of the colonial space outside of modernity, although uneven, the relationship between modern (metropole) and colonial (periphery) is one of constant tension and mutual formation. Modernisation in its spatial forms has been articulated along with capitalism in different forms of governance since the conquest of the American continent. The modern-state, heir of the colonial metropolis, organized capitalism in space through property relation and a *mundial* system, or in Lefebvre's terms, the 'State Mode of Production' (2009a) put land under state governance in order to guarantee the continuation of the expropriation and selective exploitation. In the postcolonial context, the dispositions of bodies and lands were organized creating technologies of power that used race (and gender) as guiding principles for the formation of an economy of alterity in the synchronicity of marginal peoples and lands. As Silvia Federici argues while looking at female body patriarchal appropriation and racialized groups' selective exploitation:

primitive accumulation has been above all an accumulation of differences, inequalities, hierarchies, divisions, which have alienated workers from each other and even from themselves (2004, p.115).

In this light, the precondition for the accumulation of Land as Commodity (Chapter I) rest on the violence inflected to 'indigenous people' and the dispossession of their lands. Or as Segato proposes, 'racial difference is not a sufficient cause for social conflicts, actual or from the past, but it is an effect of interest and the concentration greed' (2007, p.152). As such racial violence becomes the premise for modern governance.

As introduced before, applying the Cartesian logos of Western philosophy to the imaginary geography of Modern European knowledge created a world subsumed into a mathematical abstraction. Land in this process becomes desocialized and depoliticised, classified as a scarce resource to be efficiently exploited. The formation of private property was described in Chapter I, as a process of abstraction, commodification, and separation. However, it also entails a violent process. Particularly in the colonial context, where the 'savage' geography was seen as negative (state of nature) different forms of spatialized technologies of power are used to frame land as part of an a priori world of objects, against the lawless, and consequently violent, space of the savage (Blomley, 2003, p.125-127). In the colonial context, people's separation from land constituted a process of subject formation qualified by its differentiation. Depending the needs of the political-economy of land, the 'native' either becomes landless and forced into slavery or servitude relation, or is given 'peripheral' lands while the land is grabbed for the making of modern-territory and property relations in the establishment of social hierarchies, citizens and positive rights.

This is violence aligned to differentiation: the framing of people and land as native, to either fix them to it or displace them from it, inventing a 'natural' condition for them as marginal, 'savage' or 'untamed', has become one of the main productive disposition for accumulation (primitive or by dispossession). However, the emergence of a new mode of production is producing a new layer of spatial difference altering the violent premises that fixed them to those lands. With the arrival of new technologies and needs coming from global markets all lands become potentially valuable. For the racialized bodies historically attached to those lands, with the new forms of corporate space production, they become re-disposed from their 'natural' dispossession to those lands. This new speculative valorisation of lands, on the other hand, has also ignited a revitalization of political-identity attachment to land taking place among indigenous movements. These uneven competing stakeholders articulate novel forms of negotiation and resistance in the emerging modern-colonial countryside. The next-subsection presents these 'tectonic' movements in changing landed relations aligned to novel forms of accumulation and capitalist need through the prism of colonial

violence. This means to give centrality to a persistent violence as the main governing logic of differential extraction.

### *The Development of the Modern-Colonial Countryside*

Following Woods' concept of the global countryside (2007), and influenced by the notion of *mu/ondial* – Portuguese and French – (Santos, 1988 and Lefebvre 2009a), and the immanent colonial violence at the centre of capitalist land acquisition, I arrive to the 'modern-colonial countryside' to explore globalization from the perspective of peripheral subjects and lands in the Rural South. The concept of 'modern-colonial countryside' seeks to bring to light the imbrications between new fixities (enclosures of lands and people) and movements (flow of capital and goods) under an emerging regime of extractive capitalism in southern rural lands.

As developed, technologies of enclosure can explain more than the formation of private property as an economic means. The colonial experience, through the lens of power, gives a historical account of the appropriation of land of the 'new world' that established the foundations for the formation of law and property, and the modern nation-state territory. Enclosure, in the Marxist account, became a means to 'liberate' the peasant from his means of production (i.e., land) and enable the development of the capitalist mode of production. But enclosure in its imperial mission became means to immobilise people while simultaneously produced racialized subjects for the expansion of the accumulation process over land and subjects. In both accounts, 'violence is at once law making' (Blomley 2003, p.129). However, the spatialization of violence on land does not always mean a permanent physical action but is on its devices such as fences, hedges, plantations, walls and other enclosing means that violence is implied and extended. The exclusion of others is the violent principle of private property and of any exclusive access form. But it is also in the body of the native, as a device, that these borders are defined. Race becomes attached to location, made specific to a marginal land, simultaneously categorizing those who are racialised as marginal people.

In the making of the modern-colonial countryside, fixity is as necessary as movement for the capitalist mode of production. In this praxis, the disparities between the West (metropole) and the rest (periphery) goes beyond the material difference of uneven development, as Neil Smith has argued (2010, p.150). The 'rest' is marked by a spatio-temporal line historically determined in the distribution of law and civility to some and coercion and force to others (Lloyd and Wolf 2016, p.113). The mobility of corporate global capital works at the expense of the fixity of the 'Global South'. In this representation, the periphery persists as 'nature' (Mignolo 2000, p.35), as a site of plundering and domination. However, the racial classification of ordering bodies and land under extractive technologies demands further disembodiment between land as site for inhabitancy to land as site exclusive for extraction. In the following discussion, I will present how fixity and enclosure operates under the prism of race.

## Racialization of Space/Spatialization of Race, Violence and Land

Following a coloniality approach, I suggest the spatialization of race/racialization of space (drawing on Moore 2005; McIntyre and Nast 2011, Lipsitz 2007) as a critical aspect of the formation of the modern state territory. To understand how race and land became intrinsically connected I re-visit the concept of enclosure and link it with fixity in the bonding between race, land, and power. Others, such as Donald Moore in *Suffering for Territory* (2005), and McIntyre and Nast (2011), elaborate the notion of fixity and race. I will engage with their work to then expand the concept of 'racialized enclosure'. Understanding enclosure regimes in postcolonial contexts are a particular way of exploring modern-colonial landed relations. Through this, it is possible to argue that modern enclosure is not just a process of racialized discipline of peoples, but conversely also a mechanism by which indigenous peoples have found ways to defend their livelihood and knowledges.

### *Ethnic Fix*

As Moore notices, 'fix' is a sensitive term in the English language, which covers multiple meanings. One meaning refers to anchoring, stabilising and sitting in a precise location (2005, p.343). The second meaning is about 'repairing, restoring and returning to a previous state after an injury in the social fabric' (2005, p.343). The third is in the

lines of punishment and discipline, as Moore exemplifies “‘putting people in their place’ can fix them in several ways’ (2005, p.343). In Chapters IV and V, I show that the notions of ethnic fix and enclosure move between discipline, ‘putting people in their place’, and resistance, ‘recovering their place.’ I present a short assessment of the uses of fixing from materialist and post-structuralist approaches that will inform my own use of ‘ethnic fixing’ for the thesis case studies looking at postcolonial geographies in the Global South. Moore argues,

Political technology produced the discursive formations of “race” and “culture”, construction with profound material consequences made all the more powerful by imperial insistence that they were ‘natural’ ontological differences located in the ‘facts’ of geography (Moore 2005, p.15).

Moore’s reflection shows more than a relation between race and power; he highlights how ethnic fixing has become a normative practice in the formation of the modern social landscape in the combination of a ‘natural’ (pre-existing) geography and race. Treating both, as intrinsic and spatiality determined properties, land and race relations would later explain political, social, material and moral rights for access and participation. Hand by hand, colonial power and capitalism both articulated the material and social enrolment of landed property relations, legally organized, under the modern state form.

The fix has been used in multiple senses and directions. The materialist approach to the ‘spatial fix’ (Harvey 2001, 2005) as explained in Chapter I, refers to the process by which an insatiable capitalistic drive finds spaces abroad where it can deter its inherent propensity towards crisis by temporarily allocating surplus capital (over-accumulation) and alleviating the crisis, provoking a geographical expansion and/or restructuring. McIntyre and Nast complement Harvey’s materialist approach, giving a sense of geopolitics in their approach to fixing. They make a case regarding the geographical distancing between the hegemonic sites of financial capital and accumulation and the workforce. ‘Place fixing’ operates by capitalists using the ‘border both to distance themselves from hyper exploited industrial labour and to fix it in its disadvantage (and disadvantaging place)’ (2011, p.1477).



Under the new colonial dimensions of spatial relations the ethnic spatial fix, disrupts the synchronicity between race and land, in the new interest in peripheral lands. This new regime of enclosure guided by global corporate interest in land, entangles local indigenous demands with global capital needs. Against the advance of capitalism through the homogenization of space as the expansive dominant force over the global countryside, emergent global governing bodies such as global NGOs (WWF, Forest Watch, Human Rights organizations, etc.), international organisms (ILO, United Nations, International Courts, etc.) and private stewardships (FSC, Marine stewardships, ISOs) have traded conservation and protection of place for market access and valorisation. The promotion of certain plots of land as ancestral sites, defining them as ‘sacred’ or ‘sites of cultural significance’ opened a door for improving the conditions of trade and fluidity in the production for corporations located in the Global South (developed in Chapter V). The ‘ethnic fix’ became the dominant variable for global governing bodies and state ones for alternative modes of spatial ordering under the expansion of corporate spaces. Distinction rather than homogeneity acts as the reference point for the new disciplinary ordering. Under this new framework of communal and global governing bodies, the category of the ancestral presents itself as a malleable concept exploited by communities’ imaginary geographies and needs, and corporate and state interest (developed in Chapter III; V).

In the articulation of extractive industries in the rural space, the ‘ethnic fix’ takes multiple directions. Fixing operates either in a repressive or productive manner, constraining or giving access, but still under the logos of coloniality, always in the capitalization of difference. The kind of ‘fix’ being developed does not respond so much to an over-accumulation crisis looking for peripheral zones that can absorb that excess in a profitable manner (Harvey, 2005) but its proliferation in the modern-colonial countryside is articulated as a resolution of central market access constraint. The ethnic fix operates enhancing certain racialized bodies and lands, granting a ‘soft’ access (granting access for cultural and religious practices but not ownership) by corporations in possession of ancestral lands while simultaneously these companies improve the value of their global commodities in facilitating this differentiated access gaining global certificates of good practices (FSC). The productive use of the notion

of the ancestral<sup>41</sup>, however it also exploited by indigenous communities using the narrative of ethnic distinction to access to land.

### *Racialized Enclosure*

In the multiple directions of the ethnic spatial fix, I explore the concept of ‘racialized enclosure’ as a technology simultaneously operating as confinement and resistance in the experience of the subalternized peoples struggling for land. Against Lefebvre’s criticism of Foucault’s emphasis on confinement in the belief that ‘what characterizes the formation of capitalism in the West is not confinement but putting people at work’ (Lefebvre 1976a, p.43), enclosure and fixity are equally important in the entangled formation of the modern-colonial countryside and a constitutive element for the development of capitalism.

As a political technology, the approach to enclosure should go beyond a single regime of rule. As Moore highlights, political technologies are met in already embedded ruling relations between subjects and territories (Moore 2005, p.9). Sevilla Buitrago (2015) recovers the role of enclosure as a spatial device allowing us to take a broader view of enclosure spatiality, regarding it as:

A prominent territorial feature in the *longue durée* of the capitalist mode of production of space. As was the case with markets or wages, enclosure predated capitalism but acquired a structural, regulatory role in the advent, consolidation and subsequent development of the new sociospatial formation (2015, p.3).

While enclosure effectively became a spatial means for land dispossession, as a spatial practice it has been used to seal other social formations. Enclosure as technology has been promoted, resisted and incorporated as a valid tool for the production either of nation-states, territory, property and autonomous spaces.

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<sup>41</sup> The etymological origin of the word ancestral comes from Latin and derives from old French. The roots of the word *antecessoris* refers to belonging or what it belong to the one who has left before, or the one who has gone before one.

Following Sevilla-Buitrago (2015), enclosure should not be vilified as a tool exclusively for governmental control; more broadly, it is a resource for the violent production and control of space. In this chapter, I have presented land as something more than property. The role of enclosure as a spatial technology forming racialized geographies was produce in the linking between ‘race’ and ‘nature’ – granting both, the human and the non-human in general with an ontological primary existence. This spatial and bodily differentiation created a racist system of exploitation and displacement of bodies and land. The effects over the landscape in the deepening of the extractive model of development have generated new social morphologies using racialized enclosure as means of resistance.

As shown in this section, confinement has been the most effective way to regulate conduct. However, as a permanent attempt at subjection, the notion of conduct also enables subjective action; as Moore writes, ‘While governing is invariably linked to historical forms of violence, relative freedom – a submission to government- keeps alive the possibility of “refusal or revolt”’ (2005, p.9). The notions of land, race, and power are inverted in a discourse of resistance and in multiple and divergent claims to return to landscapes of multiple temporalities, scales, and power relations: postcolonial reductions; precolonial national liberation claims; territorial rights, ancestral inheritance and racialized dispossession – to mention some. These ‘entangled landscapes’ (Moore 2005, p.4) can be explored in the microphysics of the everyday life in the countryside (developed in chapter V).

### *Resistant Enclosure in the Modern-Colonial Countryside*

Legg presents arguments from Chatterjee (2004, pp.24-5) regarding the possibility of hope under the politics of objectification for subaltern populations; regarding a possible space for the negotiation of rights, laws and civic regulations forming part of the scheme of governmental order. In this light, governmentality can also be a participatory space that can be moulded as ‘a means of conducting conduct and facilitating self-help that [has drawn] the state into new forms of personal contacts with its populations’ (Legg 2007, p.281).

Enclosure in the formation of the modern-colonial countryside is subverted as a device for the production of other relations to land beyond property. ‘Resistance Enclosure’ or ‘Counter Enclosure’ is interpreted by this research as contemporary uneven forms of securing access to land in the re-establishment of either autonomous or promoted forms of communal land access based on ancestral rights to land.

Rather than looking at enclosure exclusively as the imposed practices of capitalism and statecraft, the production of this new corporate space production has brought a new wave of mechanisms, actors, practices and technologies of governance and control. Drawing on Santos’ suggestion, there is a double process of production of the quotidian developing here (2000, p.94). In the same space there is a time commanded by the *mondial* – the regime of corporate enclosures and their extractive industries- and there is an horizontal production where:

What commands is the time of the place produced by the existence of the vicinity, in the adjacency, a banal space, creator of solidarity, whose fundament is not technical but historical, it is not pragmatic but has a huge parcel of emotion (Santos 2000, p.94).

These affective dynamics that Santos refers to suggest the mutual production of nature through and in correspondence with social relations. These other knowledges in the production of nature produce other social spaces as well, such as non-state territory forms emerging in communal claims among indigenous movements. In the encounter between the vertical corporate space production and these other horizontal productions is that the modern-colonial countryside takes form.

## Conclusion

A broad literature from postcolonial and decolonial writers challenging Eurocentric knowledge (such as Escobar, 2010; Machado 2010, Quijano 2010, Santos 1988; Cusicanqui 2010, Moore 2005) has been developed in order to present the philosophical underpinnings that precede this thesis’s own theoretical perspective. This chapter continues the argument that the formation of land as property is erected

through a racial hierarchy, which draws lines between legitimate appropriation and capitalist expropriation, and marginal and illegitimate land appropriation. The modern-colonial countryside has shown how modernity is a compost of mobility, fixity and colonial violence. These three vectors are the foundational stones of postcolonial rural geographies in the ordering of bodies and lands.

In proposing a contribution for the decolonial project – and a move away from its linguistic epistemological dominance – I develop a material approach to investigate landed relations in postcolonial rural geographies under the changing patterns of extractive capitalism. I combined the work of Lefebvre and his dialectical approach to land and Foucault in his articulation of space and power through his approach to technologies of enclosure to understand how coloniality and resistance accommodate in the emerging political landscape of the modern-colonial countryside.

From a decolonial perspective, the monopoly of land as property limits land to an object of political economy (a scarce resource, a factor of competition), and takes a much larger role in subjugating nature and people into the becoming of the *mundial*. The state prediction that land enclosure would give rise to subjects such as peasants, rural poor, natives or workers in the projection of bodily machinery entanglement with rural land did not come to fruition. In contrast, in the last forty years, the discourse around land connected with identity and the ancestral has been invigorated. This thesis speaks to that persistence of land relations. In the negotiation for land access and resistance-enclosure, concepts of indigeneity, the ancestral, community and territory became competing source of knowledge and power responding, on one hand, to corporation in their need capitalization of indigeneity (global certificates) and, on the other, by indigenous groups and their manoeuvre for the re-politicization of difference and expand their land access.

As the material basis of social reproduction and the source of life and material reproduction, with land is never an end (Li 2014, p.589). Land and its social resourcefulness are still contested as a concept and practice. In the following chapter, this thesis will develop the main two other contesting forms of land in the emerging modern-colonial countryside. *Land as patrimony* from above and *land as territory* from

below will be explored as part of a dialect of land relations. Following this, Chapter IV develops a history of the geography of the Araucanía and Chapter V will explore the different ways in which land is negotiated and contested in the making of the boundaries modern-colonial countryside.

# Chapter III Colonial-Modern Relations of Land in the making of the Rural South

*'Wanting to be modern seems crazy:*

*We are condemned to be so,*

*Given that the future and the past are prohibited'*

*(Octavio Paz, 1966)*

## Introduction

Chapter I showed the dominant discourse of land from its economic perspective. This characterization has framed land narrowly as property. However, Chapter II brought to light that land is more than its marketed valorisation. The 'power of land', in its subjection capacity and the formation of subject of actions was developed showing the societal implications of landed relations. Chapter III looks at what else land is beyond property. I will examine the case of the Araucanía, a region that became available for land corporate takeover after the Pinochet coup d'état inaugurated the market-driven liberalization of the national economy. Known as the first experiment for unregulated capitalism, neoliberalism in rural spaces took the form of a new relation to land guided by extractive capitalism. This chapter first explores *land as territory* a concept emerging from resisting Mapuche people, struggling to recover their ancestral land by proposing a non-state form of enclosure to confront the new spatial ordering disposed by the production of nature under extractive capitalism. Secondly, this chapter elaborates on the concept of *land as patrimony* that explains a corporate spatial production through the case of the forestry industry in Chile.

Looking at the colonial dimensions in spatial social relations, the concept of *land as property* explains the constitutive racial element of its formation in the making of the modern world. The imposition of landed property relations has suppressed other relationships to land before the 'Discovery of America'. However, these relations have not completely disappeared. On the contrary, they are re-emerging and claiming a

place. The advancement of new technologies in the commodification of marginal lands is producing a new displacement of local people in a formula in which land is needed, but people are not. Rural indigenous communities are confronting the domination of their habitat while attempting to recover their 'ancestral' lands and reclaim the control over their environment. On the other end of the spectrum, the advancement of a new mode of production in the countryside is affecting the established relations between locals and capitalist rural spaces. Agribusiness is gaining more strength in the control of rural spaces (Silveira 2007, p.15) demanding the exclusive use of land as exchange value that requires the exclusion of any other forms of realisation of, and with, land. Industrial plantations in land, under the influence of the new technologies, becomes a disciplinary technology of enclosure and dispossession. Hence, the expansion of a new capitalist mode of production over peripheral lands and its resistance returns Mariátegui's question over the Indian problem (1928) as a central issue.

Drawing on original interview work, archival work and participant and non-participant observation in the Araucanía with forestry corporations and rural communities, Chapter III explores what Lefebvre calls the 'paradoxical juxtaposition' (2003, p.113) of modern-colonial land dispositions. In Lefebvre's words, we are facing 'the presence, beneath present-day phenomena, of radical transformation and ancient upheavals' (2003, p.116), between ancestral Mapuche rural communities' resistance to disappearing and the expansion of modern, mechanized and developed industrial agriculture over peripheral lands. The spatial juxtaposing implies that in the same region of the research site, multiple sets of social relations and historically diverse conceptions coexist.

Through a multi-sited ethnographic approach, this thesis looks at the rural insertion into the global market through the exploitation of primary resources and its environmental consequences. This is important because landed social relations are changing drastically. As Lefebvre proposes, 'the law of uneven development of analogous forms, and of the interaction of those forms (that coexist in different steps in its life) seems to be one of the biggest laws of history' (Lefebvre, 1978, p.36)<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup> In *The Production of Space* this sentence appears slightly different, adding the scale that applies to this law: 'The law of unevenness of growth and development, so far from becoming obsolete, is becoming



Bodies, technologies and land become enrolled and mobilized in the production of new spatial disciplinary forms. This ultimately explains the emergence of other social relations, new horizontal and vertical solidarities and networks and an emerging global landscape of archipelago of enclosures.

In short, this chapter will expose the hubris of land as property and extensible to the limitations over the framework of nation-state territory to deal with the question over how extractivism and its resistance by indigenous movements is affecting landed relations. Starting to offer a response, this chapter will present how under a new global economy of alterity, other competing forms of landed relations (in the forms of territory and patrimony) in the countryside are enabling novel spatial dispositions to land through the formation of new discourses and material enactments. This gives space to a more fluid conformation in the relation between land and racialized subjects.

## Section I: Land as 'Territory'

In the last forty years, the concept of territory became the main political concept among Latin American rural movements and in particular indigenous collectives, resisting the advancement of the extractive mode of production in its different ways – open mining, dams, soybean plantation, industrial tree plantations, etc. - throughout the region. However territory as a resistance concept emerging under a new transnational capitalist spatial development (and its environmental impact) needs to be further explored. Guided by Lefebvre's progressive-regressive method I engage with the concept of land as territory to explore the processes of self-enclosure organized by rural Mapuche communities claiming land. To understand the claim of land under this conception, this chapter first returns to the specific conditions of the formation of modern territory in the context of Latin America in the subsection called 'History of Modern Territory'. Then, the second subsection pays attention to the epistemological,

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worldwide in its application – or, more precisely, is presiding over the globalisation of a world market' (Lefebvre 1991, p. 335).

historical and spatial development of the 'Indigenous Territory'. Through the introduction of emerging concepts and discourses attached to emancipatory politics, I explore the notion of Territorial Identities (TI) as a spatial and political category developed in the definition of Mapuche subjectivity in space. I will then historicise the notions of Mapuche territory, and finally I will introduce the current strategy used by Mapuche communities under resistance attempting to gain a political space as a differential collective through the use of the TI.

## History of Modern Territory in Latin America

Land as territory from the perspective of indigenous communities has little in common with the modern state territory construction. The notion of territory that dominates the Latin American region is directly connected with the modern establishment of the nation-state system (Chapter I and Chapter II). As Elden proposes, modern territory as a bounded space under the control of an authority is 'historically produced' (2013, p.322). This means to understand territory as a historical and geographical form and practice of political organization (Elden 2010, pp.757-8). The historical context for the formation of modern-territory in Latin America was under the influence of economic-political unsatisfied elites. Creole landowners and an emergent creole bourgeoisie class led all movements of territorial independence in Latin America (the majority taking place between 1810-1821). Independence movements were directly influenced by external and internal factors all concerned with the relative position of interest of these emerging classes. Western political thought was taught in universities (influenced with philosophical ideas of Enlightenment, notions of social contract, and modern government, etc.); world events, such as the Napoleonic war, were all becoming destabilizing factors for the colonial empire. Local elites were starting to question the limited position they had in the control of the market associating it with the political dependency to the colonial system. The revolutionary attempts led by slaves and indigenous people that envisioned social and political equality (i.e., Haitian slave revolt – 1791, Aymaran Rebellion 1781, 'Great Rebellion' Tupac Amaru II – 1870) also intensified fears among the emerging bourgeoisie. In structural terms, the formation of modern territory Latin America is directly connected with the capitalist mode of accumulation and the mundialization of the West (Santos 1988; Lefebvre 2004). In one

operation state and territory were realised at once: Independent political elites became sovereign over a spatial jurisdiction and gained access to the capitalist market as an independent nation.

However, for indigenous populations the liberal revolts meant a new form of oppression. As Lefebvre describes, modern-state territory became a spatialized form of violence:

Violence became the basis for positive right, social reproduction and accumulation... [and] bureaucracy and the army, apparatus for unification and subordination (1991, p.280-281)

Modern violence in Latin America was deployed in the linking of ‘nature’ and ‘race’ treated as entities with intrinsic qualities according to the maximum exploitation of bodies and lands while establishing a racial hierarchy. This racist dynamic, under the modern territorial disposition of space, became organized under the fixation of people and lands. The *reducciones* were racialized enclosures that fixed native peoples to land. In this reduction system, natives were bestowed the less productive lands (for the available technology and agricultural development intentions of 1880s) and enclosed in reduced plots of land organized in patriarchal family lineage, nowadays commonly known as ‘communities’. Symbolically, following Guillaume Boccara, this represents the place of postponement and delay, alien to a dynamic of growth and urbanization, reduced to a system of oppression and extortion (2005, p.37).

However, the concept of community in postcolonial Araucanía has evolved along economic and political changes. This concept encompasses both the most effective form with which to discipline Mapuche people in the nineteenth century, and perversely, for state colonization agents, now encircles the site for cultural resistance and the landed form for emancipatory politics. Throughout this section I will refer to the concept of ‘communities’. It is important to clarify this point and avoid talking about Mapuche communities indiscriminately – instead, it is crucial to explore their distinctions in relation to ethnic fixing and power spatial networks. The following table develops the current formats of communities operating in the Araucanía

Table 1. *Types of communities*

| Type Community        | Period                              | Political Order                           | Leadership                      | Discourses and Material Enactments  |   |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|---|---|
| Lof                   | Pre-state invasion and contemporary | Family lineage                            | Lonko/comunal                   | Collective patrimony, free movement in a region of around 10 million hcts   | Revitalization of this form of political ordering-inspiration for emergence of Territorial Identities         |
| Reductions            | Emanated 1884-1929                  | Indigenous Settlement Commission          | Lonko chosen by colonial agents | 2919 MT over 523.285 hcts for 83.170 people. Average of 6.8 hcts per person | From 1930-1973 the reductions have gone through a process of <i>bijuelization</i> and individual distribution |
| Juridical Personality | Since 1993 - present                | Indigenous Law 19.253 CONADI state agency | President registered in CONADI  | Law 20A 29,867 hcts<br>Law 20B 105.029 hcts. Total: 134,896hcts             | MT still operate as legal means to recover land in forms of communal property                                 |

Source: made by the author

Table 1 I present the different forms of communities' institutionalizations coexisting in the modern space of the Araucanía. One is the historical community, the *lof*, that is defined from an anthropological perspective as the human group that shares cultural values (Hirt 2012, p.65), in which limits were defined by natural demarcation agreed by the communities' political leaders (*Lonko*) today associated with TI. The second type of land possession assigned to the Mapuche people was the communitarian smallholding by means of *reductions*. This is the legal community connected with a demarcated piece of land expressed in a map and with a collective title – the Mercy Title (MT) – emanated by the state after the military conquest of the region. This kind of community was established from 1884–1929 as a method of differential disciplinary absorption of the Mapuche people into a landed property system. Reductions have been dismantled since 1930 and completely eliminated with Augusto Pinochet's rule from 1973 to 1993. The third type, legally in place since 1993 (law no.19.253), emerges from the MT. It is organised through people's family name lineage in connection with

the original MT; the legitimate group connected with that title is named as a juridical personality (JP) and creates a parallel governance (in competition and/or solidarity) by the establishment of a president for the community that represents it under state officials. In contrast, the figure of the *Lonko* emerges from communities' internal practices.

These three forms of communities are critical contributing factors in the way lands are being claimed. This thesis follows Lefebvre's concern to communities' shape that range under structural and ideological contradictions and survival. As Lefebvre's rural sociology highlights there is no evolutionary linear approach to community – from a primitive one to the modern one, from a communal primitive undifferentiated society to a dissolved community and the emergence of a differentiated individual man (Lefebvre, 1978, p.35). As this section will develop, the concept of territory will emerge affected by the permanent Mapuche communities' spatial adaptations.

Indigenous movements' attempts to claim land under the codes of *land as property* (using as maps, titles, etc.) and state governance failed in regaining their historical lands during the twentieth century. *Land as territory* as a concept was developed in association with resistance, identity, and collectivism resulting out of the postcolonial and modern experience. The experience of increasing land strangling in the Araucanía for Mapuche communities from the 1990's to these days coincides with the return of the democracy and a new spatial form of capitalist accumulation. The alliance between post-dictatorial democracy and economic globalization meant a breaking point in Mapuche communities' relation with the modern-state and a self-reflection of these communities' own positionality. Facing a colonial wall as constituted outsiders, their right to claim land under any form of government - democracy, totalitarian, liberal or socialist- remained unreachable for these communities. Under this realization, *land as territory* develop into a political quest in applying ethnicity to land. As such, *land as territory* became the locus of identity, social relations and history. Retuning to Mariátegui (1928), the struggle for land is shown not as one of an agrarian community or rural people asking for expanding their capital but has developed in the form of people's survival. As such, the concept of *land as territory* emerges in the articulation of an identity of becoming associated to the possession of land.

Keeping a longer historical picture of the formation of Latin America territory, it is possible to view it, first, as a site of plundering sustained by a slave population made of natives and Africans forcibly displaced through transatlantic slave trade; and second, following the same logic of colonial violence in its legal articulations, as an object in the monopoly of violence of the modern state through the spatialization of race/racialization of space. Under modern Latin America, territorial demarcation supports the founding for the nation-state system in an ideology of racial differentiation and 'natural' citizenship, justifying property and voting rights, and more broadly, demarcating the terrain of political subjectivity, while simultaneously enables a system of differential exploitation of certain racialized bodies. For Mapuche people and native people in the region, their marking as ethnic people defined their bodies and lands as boundaries of the modern. But under the emergence of new forms of land exploitation and technologies that can potentially extract value from 'waste lands' the racialized enclosures that served as compass for the spatial ordering of postcolonial geographies is undermined by the arrival of a new form of venture capitalism. In other words, the racial boundaries that organized property relations and modern-state territory become contested and the lines between modern and colonial (or centre and periphery) gain flexibility producing a disjuncture in the distribution between racialized subjects and lands.

## Indigenous Territory

In Latin America, the emergence of indigenous people as political actors has become one of the most salient events of the twenty-first century. Mapuche activists and intellectuals have influenced a vast emerging literature in cultural geography, postcolonial studies contributing in the allocation of Mapuche worldview in the geopolitical quest 'recognizing the relevance of places in the production of meaning of social struggles' (Massey 1992, p.70). The production of a political and scientific discourse around indigenous territories operates as a pressuring point to political elites and their national imaginations around territory and land rights imposed by Western thought.

The notion of 'indigenous territory' as an independent jurisdiction - for the Araucanía region- in the history of Mapuche people was registered in formal treaties between Mapuche leaders and Spanish crown in two occasions, one was the Treaty of Killin (1641) and the other was the Taphiue Parliament in (1825). The Chilean legislation also spoke of an 'indigenous territory' until 1869 to then change it to 'colonization territory'. When the Chilean military annexation of this region completed in 1880s, state discourse around the concept of indigenous territory started to disappear (Molina 1995, p.111). As presented in previous chapters, national territory represents an exclusive concept founded in the sovereign state that attempts to organise a fixed unit in space. Categories of land and territory acquired a hierarchical order in the formation of the nation-state system, with the latter encompassing the former - one as an economic unit and the other as the political container - being part of a historical construction in the establishment of a system of uneven power relations (Martinez Berrios 2012, p.51). In contrast, for Mapuche people, the concept of *land as territory* developed in this thesis, encompasses more than a technology of power over subjects and land. Drawing from the work of Molina (2012), Martinez Berríos (2012) Caniuqueo Huricapan (2011) and Boccara (2005) I understand that the articulation of a Mapuche notion of territory is anchored in the social experience determined by a historical forceful attachment to land. It is in the historical switch from being sovereign and self-sufficient peoples to becoming a fixed ethnic minority that the *reducciones*, now communities, become the home of a resistance culture. These reductional societies developed since 1880s generated an enclave resistance culture (Cantoni 1974, p.17). The now, centenary tradition of struggle to recover *communal* spaces for social, economic, cultural and religious practices along the twenty and twenty-first centuries became part of the Mapuche identity valorisation. In the last forty years, this movement of struggle against discrimination, first via assimilation and currently via enhancement of ethnic identity, reached the status of epistemology and sciences (medicinal, geographical, history and so on). Under the epistemic lens, land is elevated to a struggle for self-determination and subsistence as people. In this conception, the continuum of land and territory is articulated by the notion of sanctity, economic resource, functionality and everyday inhabitancy.

While land as property (see Chapter I) and modern territory attempt to establish a fixed and socially determined notion of land and territory, ‘these [concepts] are not objective nor stables, as well as not definite or unyielding’ (Martinez Berrios 2012, p.41) their meanings are still under contestation. From academia to legal national and international courts and among different agencies, to movements and organisations there are still emerging definitions of land and territory. An example of this movement is what Joe Bryan defines as the ‘territorial turn’ in Latin America, characterising the trend towards state recognition of community property rights in the search to reach social justice for native people (Bryan, 2012). As Nelson Martinez Berrios highlights, from a theoretical perspective, land and territory conceptual contestation, instability and application by academic, international organisms, state agencies and social movement rather than expressing lack of currency over these concepts it actually

Reflect that their hold their performative efficiency, demonstrating as well that are contingent historical enunciations, and that their updating is given in a context of ideological disputes (Martinez Berrios 2012, p.58).

As Toledo Llancaqueo remarks, the irony of this contestation is that it is a territorial and transnational process at the same time (2005, p.96). *Land as territory* as an emancipatory project of communal resistance grounded on land attachment emerges at the encounter of a process of advancement of global speculative interest in land. Following this, I introduce the notion of territory for Mapuche people under resistance.

### *Imagining identity in place*

Raul Molina’s work (Molina 1995, along with McFall, 2002; Martinez Berrios, 2012, Caniuqueo Huircapan 2011, Le Bonniec 2002, Toledo Llancaqueo 2005-2006 among others) engages with Mapuche geography not to explain the context or stage where the conflicts occur but ‘as part of the explanation for these conflicts’ (Massey 1992, 2005). This means returning to land as the reason for the dispute. Following this premise, the understanding of Mapuche territory implies recognition of political subjects and an acknowledgement of a relational dimensions of land, as part of their



worldview. Particularly relevant is the telluric<sup>43</sup> character of this relationship, between the biologic, the social and the ancestral, the underground and above the ground (Ticona Alejo 2010, p.64). The vision of the world articulated in Mapuche land memory constitutes the foundation for a partisan future, an aspect that is crucial in the valuation of land as territory.

Mapuche territory in Molina's view 'is supported in the current holding of land that represents portions of the ancestral territorial dominium' (Molina 1995, p.112). In one of the first contributions to the academic recognition of Mapuche epistemology linked to geography, Molina (1995) proposes the concept of '*etnoterritorio*' (ethnoterritory) as a mode to reconstruct indigenous territoriality. The ethnoterritory constitutes a category that gives an account of the inhabited spaces by indigenous people (or a portion of them) that possess characteristic delimited by geographical landmarks socially recognised by one or more groups of the same ethnicity or from different one. These territories are valued by indigenous people when they get assigned a political, economic, social, cultural and religious content (Molina 1995, p.113)

Molina describes the main dimensions of the ethnoterritories as: a) political: Autonomous territorial jurisdiction with their own ruling and norms; b) economic: The environment and the resources that permit certain form of social reproduction determines its economic value; c) social: linked with lineage relations. A sense of belongingness that gives access to certain lands determined by tradition and inheritance that is recognised by the whole community; d) cultural: The crucial factor of the Indigenous territory is the non-separation between men/women and nature 'between community and jurisdiction, between people and territory, there is no close relation between the social and the natural. The territory contains this reciprocal interaction where men are part of nature and vice-versa' e) religious and spiritual: connection between the divine and the terrestrial. Constructions of sacred sites are produced given that benevolent and malefic deities also inhabit the territory. Their actions are marked in the social and natural space connecting with the strength of the

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<sup>43</sup> Telluris comes from the Latin word *tellus*, a concept that relates the influence of the ground of a region to the people that inhabits it.

earthly and cosmic spaces (Molina 1995, p.114). In this ontology of land, land's value is assigned to aspects that transcend land's univocal productive matrix under capitalism, offering like this an explanation for the attachment to land based on 'a territorialized identity and a racialized geography' (Mbembe 2002, p.16)

In a similar line, Mapuche historian Sergio Caniuqueo Huircapan links Mapuche epistemology to geography by introducing the linking concept of Mapuche and territory as *a way of being in the territory* (Caniuqueo Huircapan 2005, p.6, my italics) These 'ways of being' can be found in Mapuche *kimun* (knowledge). However, these are not priori formulations, but rather develop through the social experience of place. The Mapuche offer a perspective of the world that is explained under the particular relation between the *Mapu* (physical, social and spiritual space or dimension) and *Che* (people). The characteristics and values of the *Che* are cultivated based on his direct contact with the environment, his *Mapu*, and the elements that allow to those relations. In contrast with the relation between people and nature in Western thought, in the Mapuche world, the *Che* is a means to interrelate the elements of its *Mapu* (water, oceans, mountains, and so on). Mapuche knowledge, in sum, is structured through the relation of *Che* to space in all the dimensions mentioned above:

Ultimately, the natural, social and symbolic elements that the Che possesses in her territory shape the characteristic of a community, their Az Mapu, the territorial identity (Caniuqueo Huircapan, 2005, p.6).

This form of geographically based identity, that in other approaches would be conceptualized as Topophilia (Tuan 1990), or place (Escobar 2008) in the context of the Mapuche, and extensible to all Indigenous struggles, is related to a politics of resistance. Following Caniuqueo Huircapan (2005), Mapuche territory is more than *terrateneencia* (terra-possession) (Sepulveda 2012, p.10); it is about the way of being in it. To have territory for Mapuche people entails the inhabitation of the land accompanied by specific social practices. *Land as territory* is then a double process, of land and the environment reencountering with its people, and of Mapuche identity coming to life.

The essential contribution of these theoretical elaborations of the concept of territory, is that these concepts and knowledges are not treated as ‘sociological fossils’ (Lefebvre 2003, p.113) in the realm of classic anthropology – looking at societies from the past, but as political ones in the need to offer solutions to the political struggle of resisting societies. The ethnoterritory (Molina 1995) and Mapuche way of *being in the territory* (Caniunqueo Huircapan 2005) become meaningful concepts for Mapuche identity articulated in the context of land struggles against further corporate land dispossession and political demands of land recovery that were not contained in the registers of property rights. Let us not forget, however, that these notions started to be elaborated with the forceful and racial formation of boundaries and demarcations over people and lands. Territory as a political horizon attempts to disassemble the profound structure of coloniality still operating in landed relations. Resistant enclosures or ethnoterritories, or in other words, using race as a strategy of struggle becomes means towards a decolonial imagination.

In that line, and returning to the definition of ethnoterritories and *being in the territory*, it is the malleability of these definitions that makes them distinct to the Western notion of territory. Territory in the Mapuche social production becomes a dynamic concept responding to the opportunities and constraints result of the political landscape. For that, the Mapuche territory is not established by stable frontiers, it is defined by a subjective and relational amalgamation between humans and the environment, developing under the political and economic contingencies of the time. It is under the current threat of further land lost and environmental degradation and a long history of material and symbolic violence over Mapuche people that land struggles take the form for a defence of identity. It is in the same act of the resistance and the protection of those relations that communities transfigures its place from a perception of delay and postponement to the site of identity formation and the imaginations for a territorial future.

As we have seen from the epistemological perspective, the indigenous identities that configure the ethnoterritories and the *being in the territory* are changeable. It is precisely its dynamic character of assigning political, historical, social, cultural, and religious content that defines them (Le Bonniec 2002, p.34). It is because of this spatial and

historical flexibility that Mapuche territory needs to be historicised in order to see the structuring process of formation of territories as well of its identities.

### *Historicising Mapuche territory*

In the last forty years,<sup>44</sup> an emerging Mapuche movement has developed in the Araucanía, responding to a new cycle of capitalist immersion (extractivism). Under pressing new modes of capitalist territorialisation, rural Mapuche communities have articulated alternative forms of spatial ordering aligned to communal ethnic identity. Communal forms became novel, self-generated spatial markers in the production and sustaining of Mapuche territories. The historical relations to land explained by the articulation of collective ethnic identities and ancestral spaces represent today the main axis for Mapuche resistance. Against the ‘spatial fix’ that has been established as the device for establishing a racial spatial ordering and facilitating a hierarchical system of exploitation in modern territory, I propose that *land as territory* offers a way of thinking through adaptable practices of land-use drawn from social experiences and a way of being in the land, which are based on alternative conceptions of space and time. This spatial malleability and fluid temporality makes the history of Mapuche territory a dynamic and effective concept.

The current form of *land as territory* in the discourse of rural indigenous communities unifies discourses of political activism, chiefly rule, ecological activism and alternative globalizations movements (for instance, the World Social Forum 2001, EZLN-Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional 1994, Pan-American indigenism, and the Barbados Declaration 1971). It also responds to the enhancement of global governance mechanisms of control, such as United Nations Resolution 8 from 1971 and Art. 169 from ILO that offer recommendations and legal frameworks for demands and protection of indigenous territory.

The concept of territory remained untouched by Mapuche movements until the 1990s, partly accepted by the beneficiaries of the agrarian reforms and their syndicates that

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<sup>44</sup>The period of political communal Mapuche political organization can be traced back to the end of the Pinochet regime and the organization in ‘Mapuche cultural centres’ only space for communal meeting.

mostly focused on their own plot of land (Ticona Alejo 2010 p.63) following the philosophical principle of land associated with labour and rights. The discourse around territory in Mapuche activism emerged in the context of the recovery of the democracy (1990-1995). After the failed attempt of land recovery under the agrarian reform and the counter-agrarian reform, Mapuche movements broke away from the union systems and socialist parties and discourses and developed their own conceptualization around territory.

From land claims under umbrella of the agrarian reform (1950-1970) to the Mapuche self-organization (1990-present) there has been a transmutation from demands of 'land' to 'territory'. This conceptual change of what it was being claimed did not respond to an evolution of maturation of indigenous, peasant and landless people from a pre-political stage to a political one as subjects arriving at modernity (Vacaflores 2009, p.6). The mutation responded to several aspects. First, it responded to the historical dismantling of unions in the region of Latin America by the military coup d'état (1970-1990) that continued under the democratic-neoliberal governments (1970 onwards); ultimately, however, it was a response to the historical failure to integrate the worldviews of indigenous people to the political union system. Simultaneously, the state-centric political movements lost relevance in indigenous discourses. The crossover of history and geography has also been determinant. The arrival of new technologies and its environmental consequences also displaced the parameters of resistance to more localised demands. The geo-historical particularities – property constitution and land seizure – as well as the environmental degradation of the sites, the topography of the land, and the development of communal social reproduction also moulded the discourse in the axis of demands between land and territory. Geopolitically, the move to the location of power and authority to areas of international law, global corporations and place-based resistance groups exposes a new geometry of land control. In this scheme, property regimes are losing their hegemonic position of control over land, now articulated and contested by the nexus between global – private and public- agencies, state agents, and autonomous pressures.

The *Wallmapuche* – the *Che* that inhabit the *Wallmapu*<sup>45</sup> – a notion today associated with ‘national territory’ – becomes a flexible concept in alignment with contemporary land resistance. Following Caniuqueo Huircapan, the notion of territory from the Mapuche perspective can be understood as a ‘construction’, a ‘life option’ articulated from the margins (2011, p.108-109). Under a postcolonial setting the *Wallmapu* has been shaped following the physical extension of the Mapuche territory at the encounter with Spanish colonial invasion and the formal agreements that recognized them as autonomous people (area today known as the Araucanía). Those boundaries however, are also flexible. While discursively the territory is still attached to a ‘national’ memory – thinking of Mapuche as a collective unit – the current claim strategy is a communal one: each community struggles for their own territory. Spatially the demand for territory depart from a nation spatial ordering of territory defined by a continue strip of land and open up to other imaginations of archipelagos of territorial resistance.

Land as territory is nowadays practised by Mapuche communities organised in *lofs* (spatial kinship units) around the concept of territorial identities (TI). From claims of recovering the Wallmapu as a totality, the concept of TI has been gaining centrality in Mapuche political discourses (Caniuqueo Huircapan 2011, p.106) over the last 15-20 years. The shift represents a change in strategy. Rather than demanding a totality of the Mapuche land, a shift to partialities in relation to collective identity and political dominium (Martinez Berrios 1995, p.13) has become the main political strategy. TI refers to smaller units or partialities in comparison with the Wallmapu. While the religious and spiritual aspects of Mapuche people are common to the totality of the ‘ancestral’ territory, the TI perspective distinguishes social, cultural, economic particularities specific to certain areas.

Mapuche leaders and intellectuals fixated on the concept of territory encapsulating the indigenous political horizon for self-government (Caniuqueo Huircapan 2011, p.106). In the historical memory for indigenous people, the current demands of territory attached to self-management (*autogestion*) projects are identified in two horizons of collective memory and ideological belongingness: the ‘long memory’ of the anti-

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<sup>45</sup> That encompasses the material and immaterial Mapuche world.

colonial struggles of the nineteenth century, and the ‘short memory’ of the union movements in 1970s (Cusicanqui 2010, p.12). The short memory permitted certain alliances with the state – through the agrarian revolution and rural unions- the long memory, however, serves as a reminder that the occupation is not over – and the oligarchy has never left government (Cusicanqui 2010, p.23). In *Oppressed but not Defeated* (2010) Cusicanqui describes peasant and indigenous struggles for territory appealing to two twofold processes, one of disarticulation of the socio-historic post/colonial conditioning and one of reconstitution of the own values- territorial, social and cultural. Contrary to decolonial epistemological approaches that give pre-eminence to the ‘long memory’ giving a static and superior status to other experiences, Cusicanqui’s approach responds to the movement and influence of both memories in the ideological formation. She writes:

History and myth converge in a dialectic which results in the changing reproduction of the Andean perception about society and history (Cusicanqui 2010, p.103).

In the dialectical movement between Cusicanqui’s long and short memory is that the ancestral territory of the ‘Wallpamu’ can mutate. The Wallmapu has been memorized in multiple forms but there are three distinct instances. The narration of the ‘long memory’ of the Wallmapu that defines the Mapuche world is first represented in Figure 1. This maps shows the Wallmapu in its extension from the Atlantic to the Pacific (from LafkenMapu to the PuelMapu)<sup>46</sup> – attempting to demonstrate, among other things, the role of the Andes in the Mapuche geography (and its zonal extension) materializing the political continuum of the Mapuche existence between Argentina and Chile, against the usage of the mountain chain as a political dividing and the imposition of the colonial territorial geography.

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<sup>46</sup> This area includes the southern cone of the American continent. In the contemporary geography, this area can be extended to the central South Area of Chile (Regions IX and X) and the Pampas and northern Patagonia. Other versions also refer to its longitude stating that until the arrival of the Spanish conquest was extended from Copiapó (Atacama) to Chiloe Island.

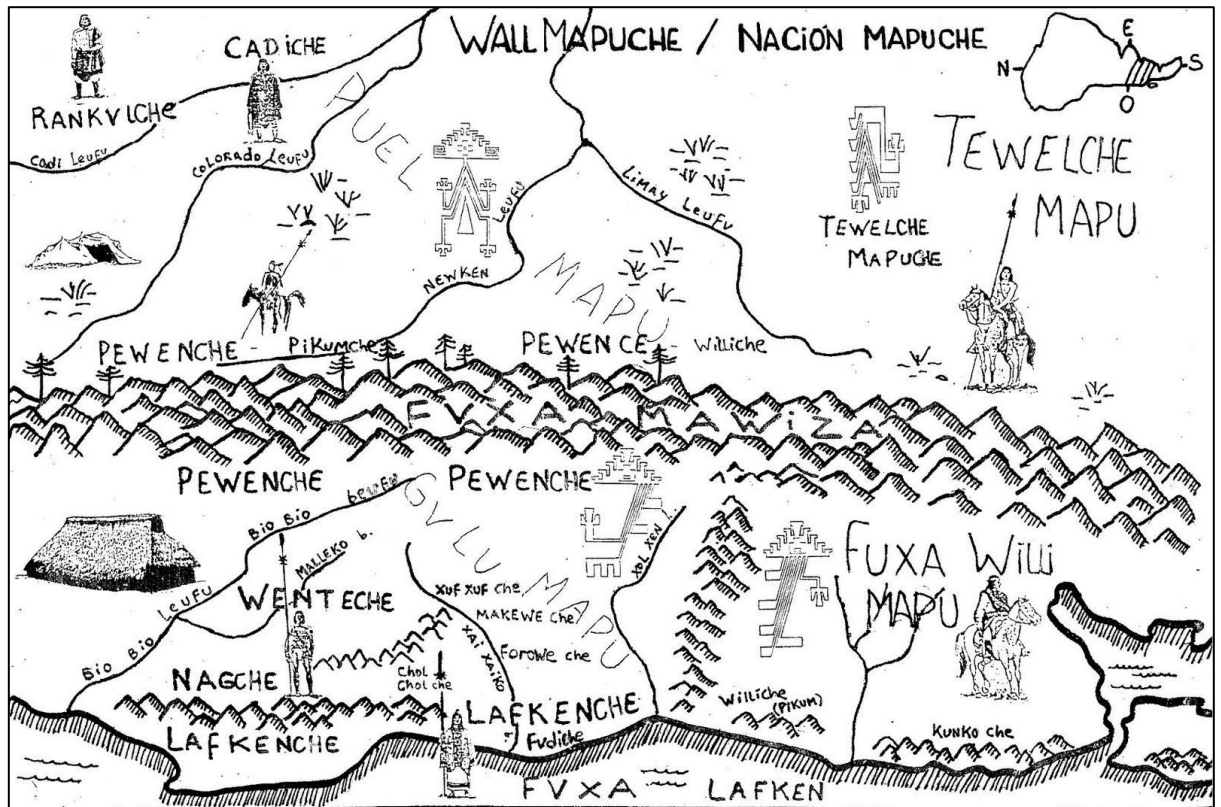


Figure 1 Mapuche Territory

Source: Historian Pablo Marimán Quemenado – Comunidad de Historia Mapuche

The other two long memorializations (Figure 2 and 3) are attributed to registered military battles and agreements. The first one (Figure 2) is the encounter with the Inca Empire<sup>47</sup> demonstrating the geographical extension and presence of the Mapuche people. The second (Figure 3) is the battle with the Spanish (Curalba - 1598) from which the results were formalized in the Quilín Parliament (1641).

<sup>47</sup> Mapuche territory limited with the Inca Empire south of the Maule River. After the Battle of the Maule (believed to happen between 1471-1493), the river served as a border after the Incas fail to conquer the Mapuche nation by the use of force.



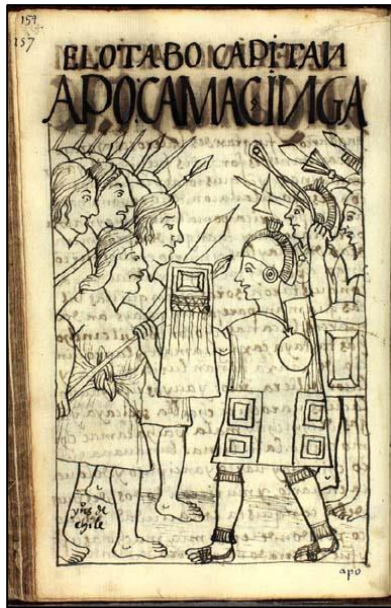


Figure 2. Drawing from Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (1485)



Figure 3. Drawing from Alonso de Ovalle (1646)

Figure 2 Source chapter 8 'Chapter of Capitans of the Ynga and their ladies' Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno- Representing the confrontation between the Inca Empire and Mapuche people-called by the Inca promoaucaes (In Quechua Urum Awqua 'savage people'). Location Maule River.

Figure 3 Title 'El Otabo Capitan, Apcamacinga' (The 8th capitan Apocamacinga).

The agreement granted autonomy to the autochthonous peoples from the region of the Araucanía<sup>48</sup> for 242 years. This region became forcefully annexed to the Chilean nation-state as late as 1880 in what it was ironically called the 'Pacification of the Araucanía'. The short memory, on the other hand, is encapsulated in the experience of Mapuche movements in their participation of the Agrarian Reform (18962-1973) under the governments of Jorge Alessandri, Eduardo Frei Montalva and Salvador Allende (see Chapter IV). During this period of political involvement in parties and unions a new leadership emerged - in contrast with the kinship communal leadership - based on labour involvement and proselytist leadership capacity. Under this political

<sup>48</sup> The Araucanía was the Spanish name given to the region under the control of native people (named as Araucanos for the Spanish) during the conquest and colonial period (1536-1810). In the Battle of the Curralba (1589), during the Arauco war- the colonial Spaniard were forced to move to the south of the Bio-Bio River, making of this river the frontier between the Spanish colony and the Mapuche land. The following chapter develops this agreement.

form, the demands were for land as part of a national process of land redistribution for peasants and rural workers. Through the amalgamation of these two memories and experiences, the demands for land transmuted into a discourse of territory and communal territories, and from a union based political organization to an actualization of a kinship system that has been abandoned since the sixteenth century (Ruiz 2003, p.6). In other words, the Mapuche governing system transmuted, along with the transformation of the spatial political claims, from land to territory to territorial identities in a movement of the integration and influence of both memories. The form of kinship spatial collective represented in the concept of TI is one of the most salient characteristics of the social-spatial organization of Mapuche territory and the unit from which the concept of territory is re- emerging nowadays.

### *Between kinship and territory*

Following Carlos Ruiz (2003) the TI emerged as a central concept in 1992 in the reflection and action of Mapuche social movements in their struggle against the Chilean state (2003, p.5)<sup>49</sup> and corporate spaces. The TI are defined as a form of self-identification and pre-existent social solidarity formed as part of the spatial entanglement of the modern-colonial territory.

The TI operates in the concrete form of everyday life against the realm of abstract discourse and the impose imagination of nation state territory. While the Western notion of territory and property formation promotes the fixation of identity and cultures, the TI's proposes the practice in space to recover the freedom of the production of space to form other ways of being in the world. As presented before, the TI in comparison with the Wallmapu is explained as the specific space of a lineage identity that is formed in the interaction with the place of origin. All TI are defined loosely around their geographical location. Following the map in Figure 1, it is possible to see that the most relevant distinctions in Mapuche geography are from East to

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<sup>49</sup> Carlos Ruiz (2003) emphasize the emergence of this term out of the action of social organisations such Aukin Wallmapuc Ngulam – *Consejo de Todas las Tierras* (Council of all Lands) in 1992 and in his academic/publishing team from 1997. However many of their presentations and writings did not have reception in the academia – or were not accepted for publication-, out of what he describes as resistance in academic Chilean circles. This publication, 'The Ancestral Mapuche structure, the Territorial Identities, the Lonkos and the Councils throughout time' (2003) is a contribution to the 'academic debate and the process of reconstruction of the identity of the Mapuche people' (Ruiz 2003, p.5)

West<sup>50</sup>, in relation to the regional ecosystem that permits the elaboration of the identity. Each partiality is organised by its specific *kimun* in connection with the characteristics of the environment, from which a particular worldview is developed as well as a specific spatial ordering functional to the society that live on it (Gutiérrez 1998, p.63).

Ethno-political studies explain the TI reflecting the principle of the unbreakable and persistent relation that the Mapuche have with their space (Martinez Berrios 2012, p.57). Ruiz (2003) understands the TI in the adaptation of Mapuche chiefdom under Spanish occupation (and Inca occupation before) and its re-emergence today (Ruiz 2003, p.6)<sup>51</sup>. From a governing perspective, the TI are a specific form of territorial governance and autonomist administration lead by a *Lonko* that under military aggressions gains preeminence<sup>52</sup> in organising alliances between *lofs* (spatial kinship units). Spatially the TI could be seen as a province and it represent the largest spatial unit historically known as *Füitanmapu*<sup>53</sup> (Ruiz, 2003, p.6-8). This spatial unity was the result of small unites that integrated as a result of external aggressions and collective coordination between the sixteen to the eighteenth century (between the Bio-Bio River and Bueno River). Following Figure 4 it is possible to visualize the forms of this extended political alliances as one of concentric expanding circles.

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<sup>50</sup> From east to west we currently find the Puelche identity (people from the East); pewenche (people of pehuén or pewen); the wenteche or huenteche (people from the plains), nagche (people from the lower side) and lafkenche (people from the coast)

<sup>51</sup> Ruiz bases his research of the evolution of the TI following documents and other writings from Spanish and Chilean historiography and Mapuche informants

<sup>52</sup> among other governing bodies in the ancestral Mapuche society i.e: Machi (healer)

<sup>53</sup> These were formed by three or five Ailarewe by the nineteen centuries.



Figure 4. *Development of Territorial Identity composition*  
Source: made by the author

Note: *Fütanmapu/futal* or *futal mapu*, known today as Territorial Identity, assemble various *lof*, *rewe* and *ayllarewe*. However not all the *lofs* were connected to a *rewe*, and simultaneously not all the *rewe* were connected to an *ayllarewe*.

Figure 4 shows a schematic representation of the historical socio-spatial composition that developed the TI in the region of the Araucanía. The primordial social unit is the *lof*, *lebo*, *lob*, *lov* or *quinelob* – these are united *ruca*s that form a large and disperse community- where issues of war, peace and treaties were planned and debated (i.e.: foreign and national politics). Belongings to the *lof* determined the level where the social identity of the group was formed. Hence, the *rewe* (ceremonial space of each *lof*) enacts the site of celebrations and religious ceremonies where the social reproduction of the society takes place (Bocarra 1999, p.431). By the sixteenth century, these alliances became more permanent and formed larger structures. Subsequently, with the increase of a permanent spatial dispute with the colonial invasions, the *lof* expanded

into larger units following kinship, landscape, cultural commonalities to be organised in Ayllarewe – (literally nine *rewe*). By the 1600s various *Ayllarewes* unified as well to form the *Füitanmapu* or *butanmapu* (big land) forming a sort of confederation unified by geopolitical interest. As Tom Dillehay concludes, all these forms of political and territorial organization ‘designed to situationally shrink or expand, respectively, to meet different political and economic demands’ (2007, p.116). By the last colonial period three *Füitanmapu* divided the territory of the Araucanía between the Bio-Bio River and Bueno River and represented the maximum level of geopolitical development.

The TI represents the revitalization of an old practice of a flexible social formation in response to land conflicts. The recovery of the ancestral structural organisation ruled by Mapuche’s cultural institution developed a localized *autogestion* of land conflicts. Martinez Berrios (2012) suggests that Indigenous rural communities operate under ‘an ideological switch that allows the reconfiguration of the Mapuche subjectivity around identities constitutions - modern and ancestral’ (2012, p.57). The concept of TI recovers primacy in Mapuche discourse for the reconstitution of their territory in the exaltation of their identity. The TI became the conceptual reference that explains the current demands of land attached to its ancestral memory. As developed, the functional change responded to geo-political alterations and historical experiences but also to the development of a self-conception of territory for Mapuche people organized around subjective and relational dimensions, such as communal social existence and its ecology as the key articulation of the Mapuche territory.

The form of *land as territory* in self-enclosed formats against the unionized form and a centralized notion of land distribution is articulated along a transformation of the leadership form. The spatial articulation between territory and identity (TI) has been a dynamic one, accommodating political needs and symbolic alliances with land and the environment. The TI as means of spatial ordering is not fixed:

The territorial identities have been more an entity than a definite structure that has been situated as a social and cultural articulation, in a middle space between the *lof* and the Mapuche nation (Ruiz 2003, p.18)

Geographical identity achieves a flexible format in the contestation for land. This approach establishes a return to the ancestral autonomist governance form of Mapuche social organization distancing itself from the syndicalist and unionized model that responds to a centralized power and an ideology that locates power in the control of the state.

Land claiming and defence through historicizing communal land and identity practice is better suited to confront the expansion of corporate forms of landed relations in the Araucanía that also operates under their own spatial ordering beyond nation-state frontiers and property landed relations. As a concept and a political principle, *Land as territory* was developed among Mapuche resistant communities around subjective and relational dimensions, in the next section I will explain the main dimension that defines *land as patrimony* under the perspective of the forestry industry in Chile.

## Section II: Land as Patrimony

Chile is the second largest producer of wood in the world, after Brazil. The forestry corporate compound is the sector that best reflects the transformation of the countryside and the main spatial force defying landed relations for Mapuche communities. Mostly concentrated in the Biobío region and Araucanía region, exotic tree plantations of Pine and Eucalyptus dominate the ecological landscape. By 2016 plantations covered 3,046 million – 4% of the national territory and 17% of the total forest cover<sup>54</sup>. While state and corporate narratives speak of an ecological industry with increase of land forest cover<sup>55</sup> (300.000 hectares of forest cover were gained between 2000-2013) and a haven against global warming (via low carbon emission); social movements (such as Forestry Engineers for the Native Forest) international organizations (WRF, GRAIN) and Mapuche communities – among others- contest that ‘Plantations are Not Forest’ (WRM, 2014). In fact, the increase of forest cover reflects an expansion of artificial monoculture plantations over native forest. The

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<sup>54</sup> CONAF source

<sup>55</sup> Data from Global forest watch. From 1.1 million hectares of forest cover there has been an increase of 1.4hct. this is explained as result of logging and replanting

effect is a reversal in human relations with nature: being surrounded by nature feels like being entrapped by nature. Exotic plantations become productive technologies of disciplinary ordering where plantations themselves are fencing communities, while fragmenting the habitat and its inhabitants.

In the last 30 to 40 years, corporate interest in land in the context of the insertion of a neoliberal model of globalization via what Naomi Klein calls the ‘shock doctrine’ (2007) started to dominate the rural postcolonial landscape. Following the Land Matrix Index since the year 2000 48millions of hectares of land have been acquired globally for corporate interest<sup>56</sup>. As I argued in Chapter I, the advancement of this form of extractive capitalism is taking over more than properties in a large scale. Extractive capitalism take over land does not represent just a change in hands over private property but this thesis argues it changes the relations to land. In Lefebvre’s words ‘habitation has change’ (1978, p.155). Following I develop the concept of *land as patrimony* that emerged under the ‘Chilean Miracle’ and the formation of a finance/resource-processing conglomerate.

*Land as patrimony* does not refer to the form of property of landowners that Lefebvre described as founded in the ‘stability of patrimonial inheritance’ (Lefebvre 1991, p.336). This is a form of real property (referring to land) that has been taken by finance capitalism in a combination of production of space and commodities. It involves a mix of resource production and speculation and has taken a leading role in the economies of the Rural South. Land as patrimony encompasses a mode of production (extractive capitalism) that includes specific techniques, involves structural relations, a mode of governance and a geo-historical development. Legally defined as property, the land acquired in the last 30-40 years in the central south area of Chile destined to forestry plantations constitutes by all stakeholders<sup>57</sup> (corporations, global governance agencies, state governing bodies and Mapuche communities to mention some) a *patrimony*. This particular is characterized as a distinct formation in the development of landed

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<sup>56</sup> Land Matrix is an independent organization that collects data on worldwide large scale land deals. This information should be taken just as reference to understand the scale of the transformation of the land market. 48million represents 384 times the size of Rio de Janeiro.

<sup>57</sup> As a result of fieldwork time and interviews with all stakeholders.

relations in the Araucanía that is disassembling the established racial economy of alterity that organized property relations and postcolonial geographies.

This section studies the historical formation of a forestry 'patrimony' in Chile using Lefebvre's sociological-historical approach to understand how this spatial form of capitalism became to dominate the new horizon for the rural world. I present first, definitions of patrimony in its relations to land and heritage, and then its reformulation for private corporations – its composition, geography and governance. A following subsection 'Forestry and Land Grabbing in Chile the formation of corporate patrimony in the Araucanía' explains the historical formation of the forestry patrimony in Chile that, while it was erected as a national project, with the Pinochet shock doctrine evolved to its corporate/speculative global format. Then I present the 'New Colonial Rurality' describing the forms of sociability in the rural space that are establishing new modes of violence in the articulation of local places to a global design. I explain the elaboration of the concept of patrimony as a landed relation that kept violence, not production or extraction, as the main force ordering the space of the Global Rural South. The last section, 'Between Criminalization of Landed Conflicts and Private Paternalism Welfare', exposes the ways in which land as patrimony establishes a new geometry of power relations that is transforming access to land and its ways of governance.

## Patrimonial Lands and the Development of Capitalism of 'Tree Felling'

The Oxford English Dictionary defines patrimony as 'property or an estate inherited from one father or ancestor' (Oxford English Dictionary, 2010). It also refers to an estate or a property belonging by ancient right to an institution, corporation or class. The second group of the patrimony definition refers to things that pertain or constitute a patrimony. Patrimony was created to define the right to exercise state sovereignty over natural resources – renewable and non-renewable - beyond the surface area of the nation-state territory. This definition developed in international law in the context of coastal states' conflict of interest over resources (fish and others such as mineral, petrol, etc). Developing states, such as Colombia, Mexico, Kenya, Ghana, proposed



different laws to create new boundaries to control foreign companies with new technologies (e.g.: distant-water fishing fleets, aircraft) exploiting sovereign assets in their coasts. Subsequently it was established an extension for the right of ruling over the ‘patrimonial sea’<sup>58</sup>. Finally, the patrimonial sea was defined as,

[an] economic zone not more than 200 miles in breadth from the base line of the territorial sea...where there will be freedom of navigation and overflight for the ships and aircraft of all nations, but in that zone the coastal state will have an exclusive right to all resources. (Nelson 1973, p.668)

Effectively this notion of patrimony extended a sovereign legislation on new dimensions (underwater and air) to avoid foreign companies to capitalize these unregulated spaces.

On top of patrimony as a national economic asset, patrimony applies to governance as well. Someone has patrimonial authority when

Administrative staff appropriates particular powers and the corresponding economic assets; patrimonial rulers (...) endeavour to maximise their personal control; party-state emerges as a system where bureaucratic and patrimonial features coexist (The Oxford English Dictionary, Second Edition, 2010).

Or Weber’s ‘patrimonial bureaucracy’ as a sub-type of a feudal political structure (The Oxford English Dictionary, Second Edition, 2010). The Spanish dictionary (*Diccionario Esencial de la Lengua Española*) adds: ‘owned asset, before spiritualized and today capitalized and ascribed to a title.’ The notion of spiritualized remits to the assessment of the object, while its capitalization remits to the object being economically valued. One is the social valued granted to the asset (or thing) while the other represent the economic calculation of this social valuation. In relation to nature and historical spaces, ‘patrimony’ in the English language is defined as heritage sites. The UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization – World Heritage

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<sup>58</sup> 200 miles or the outer edge of the continental shelf, whichever is the greater. For more on The Concept of the Patrimonial Sea in International Law look at ‘The Patrimonial Sea’ (Nelson 1973)

Committee) established World Heritage Sites (1975) in order to protect sites that hold a geographical and/or cultural significance, granting them with special protection by international law (Art. 53 Geneva Convention). These sites are valued in the ‘spiritualized’ mode; they become internationally protected because of the social value that was agreed it carries. The 1052 World Heritage Sites that acquired this global status are protected and ruled by a global governance system and international law. Considering all the definitions, patrimony as a concept refers to a property founded in a historical relation, then as an extension of sovereignty over natural resources, as a type of governance over an asset – or the potential value of it – and finally as a category of place ‘commons’ that demand special protection for the social-natural value deems to be preserved.

The form in which patrimony as a concept has been developed in the corporate forestry sector in Chile can follow the patterns of the previous definitions. First, following the Spanish definition, land as patrimony is assessed based on the capitalization of sites. This means that forestry patrimony is calculated, strictly from an economic viewpoint. This is calculated based on the revenue flows that the plantations would offer after a cycle of growth (between 10-20 years) over the land in the global market. In a similar vein, as a notion of global governance was developed for ‘common’ cultural heritage, private interests have also developed global mechanisms, discourses and material enactments for their patrimonies to be protected/regulated. These natural resources sectors are protected either as the source for the accomplishment of the development goals for food security (United Nations); or by nation states dependent of a single resource extraction (Venezuela-petrol; Argentina-soybean) as means for the integration to the global economy and to keep the GDP of the national economy. In either case, forestry patrimony (along with other natural resources corporate sectors) is treated by national and global governance agencies as a distinct *thing* that holds a special status and demands special care and regulations.

The conceptual dispute over what is the content of the patrimony also has implications in the normalization of forestry plantation, affecting its conduct and the possibilities for the expansion of the sector. The etymological origins of the concept of forest is

also relevant in understanding this geo-historical transformation of rural spaces and how enclosure can change directions in landed relations. The Latin phrase *forestis silva* means unenclosed woodland, as anything outside the enclosed community, coming from the world outside and part of the wild. Forestry plantations, in contrast, are enclosures themselves, creating an enclosed space that restricts access to anyone or anything. The same produce (the plantations) acts as a walled circle, like a fort, defending itself from the human and non-human local socio-ecological activities, allowing trees to grow free from energetic disruptions – such as local customary uses, like animal pasture, wood and plants collection, etc.- to then be allocated as commodities for a privileged market. Historically, forest operated as a source for subsistence (food and wood), social reproduction and even hunting (British Royal Grounds). In contrast, the Eucalyptus and Pine ‘forests’ developed and designed by engineers constitute enclosed spaces disaffected and disaffecting the local. Under this guise forest acquired new practical meanings – as an exclusive and excluding space.

From the perspective of forestry engineers, patrimony consists of a ‘forest establishment’. For them, a forest and a plantation are the same thing. Pablo, a forestry engineer from Bosques Cautin, explained to me in the interview (2014) that the plantation of a site with pine or eucalyptus constitutes the production of a forest<sup>59</sup>. In the twentieth century, in the context of an environmental crisis in the annexed region of the Araucanía, forestry was made into classifiable object regulated by scientific knowledge<sup>60</sup> legitimating state practices over the space of the Araucanía (and Bio-Bio region). Federico Albert’s national policy established that monoculture trees were means to protect the soil and avoid erosion (Albert 1909). Modern corporate forestry

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<sup>59</sup> I translated *bosque* (Spanish) with forest because of the relevance of this concept and the richness of it in comparison with woods. I understand that forestry companies demand to be recognized as forest more than woods. The scale of the plantations is such that also responds to a site that offers a more complex presence than woods. While for some definitions the size is not a variable to explain the distinction between woods and forests, the other characteristic that defines them is the difference between coniferous and deciduous types. Plantations of pine and Eucalyptus both are coniferous type that responds to a denser type of space. However, on the conceptual side of things the notion of forest is more suitable to explain the implication for forestry plantations to be recognized as ‘planting forests’ rather than ‘planting woods’. As such they are contributing with the local ecology, rather than just adding trees to the land cover.

<sup>60</sup> In 1880 the Chilean state hired German Federico Albert to resolve the environmental degradation of the soil after the massive deforestation that took place after the conquest of the Araucanía (explained in the next section). He proposed a reforestation program with Monterrey Pine to be imported from the USA (Klubock 2014, p.18-20)

sector made ownership of this discourse for its own benefit. In the appropriation of this environmental discourse, Arauco sees their activity representing a sustainable industry offering biomass (as a form of renewable energy) and surplus for sale, according to Mauricio Leiva, assistant director of public affairs for, speaking in an interview in 2016. In contrast, if plantations were considered with degrading environmental consequences – hydric erosion, fires, soil decay, mudslides and other types of damages- as it has been widely proven (Torres-Salinas et al. 2016, p.126), the forestry industry would be re-framed as a competitor of national natural resources instead of an ally- losing ground in the acquisition of ‘commons’, and simultaneously losing its subsidies and affecting its conduct.

In political debates, Mapuche activists use the spatial-economic definition of *land as patrimony* explained as the elements (land and plantations) to produce an exotic forest<sup>61</sup> (Reiman 2001, p.33). In economic terms, patrimony is fixed capital or a unit of production revealing the economic naming of land in correspondence to its productive potential. In comparison with a field (traditional cropping), patrimony refers to a group of fields on a large scale. The extension of the patrimony is presented beyond national frontiers. Forestry Arauco alone owns 1million and 100 thousand hectares in Chile<sup>62</sup>. However, their patrimony extends to Chile, Uruguay, Brazil and Argentina. Leiva described, during the interview at Arauco’s regional offices in *Concepción* (January 2016) their patrimonial extension through the political and communal spatial ordering of the region:

We are present in 120 municipalities in 5 regions of the centre-south of the country. This represents more than 120 municipal mayors and their corresponding indigenous communities and neighbourhood councils. From the Bio-Bio region to the south (the ancestral area of Mapuche people) Arauco controls 40% of the territory (01/16).

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<sup>61</sup> Exotic in the sense of foreign and artificial (Reiman is making a reference to the association document called ‘Plantations are not Forest’). Full differences between plantation (exotic forest) and forest developed in Land grabbing section. Alfonso Reiman was the president of the Association of Nankucheo, Lumaco. This speech was part of a presentation at the seminar ‘Territorio Mapuche y Expansión Forestal’ (2000) (Mapuche Territory and Forestry Expansion) at the Universidad de la Frontera, Indigenous Institute.

<sup>62</sup> Arauco total patrimony is more than 1.6 million hectares of proprietary forest plantations located throughout Chile, Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay.

Their extension, as explained by Leiva, goes beyond their economic activity. Their spatial domain, in contrast to the 'patrimonial seas' definition, is described as including a *defacto* governing position in the regulation of people and lands. But more than anything, *land as patrimony* signifies a platform to obtain profit. For forestry corporations the social existence of the rural is irrelevant, or in Maria Laura Silveira words, 'territory means just a resource in their equation and not the condition of their existence (Silveira 2007, p.23).

The geography of forestry 'patrimony' is characterised by patches of uneven topography, taking particular benefits of hill and mountains<sup>63</sup> (considered areas with forestry aptitude), not being useful for crops and other types of production. Its productive planning is engineered by looking at the whole archipelago of the patrimony. The technical approach to the soil is elaborated by the management of all plantations as a dispersed unit in a calculated temporality between the different plantations. Each portion of patrimony, while it may be spatially disconnected is part of an assembly line of calculated temporality— while one plot of land is being harvested another is growing. The balance between the different plots of land makes the patrimony an economic unit. The forestry industry can cover the whole circuit of production (plantation, extraction, industrialization, transport). Their production<sup>64</sup> however, and the other half of their business is the wood board (melamine faced cheap board) industry with their factories located in USA, Canada, and Germany, making Arauco the third largest producer of melamine boards in the world.

The governance of the patrimony is similar to the approach to heritage sites but ruled by a private sovereign. Multinational agri-business such as Los Grobo (economic group leading the production of soybean and wheat) or forestry finance/resource conglomerate such as Arauco and Mininco attempt to be sovereign of their patrimony in the creation of spaces striped of borders and people. Pablo Waiquilao an engineer Mapuche working with the FSC and different forestry corporations defines this model, as capitalism of 'tree felling' (*tala rasa*) (Waiquilao 02/16). He refers to a type of cut of the forest before its regeneration has naturally developed. This is a method that

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<sup>63</sup> Coinciding with sacred sites for Mapuche cosmology

<sup>64</sup> In the forestry industry, wood for construction and housing and energy are the two main areas.

drastically transforms the landscape, leaving an open field. The effects are the ecological change and the deterioration of the soil. In the material enactment of land as patrimony, the social ecosystem (local people and their environment) are treated as if they were disposable. People's role in land is defined by their absolute exclusion. These sites of extraction (mining, dams, transgenic soybean, and forestry) become 'expendable territories' or 'sacrificial' for governing bodies –state agencies and corporations. In governmental discourses, these (corporate) spaces appear as an inevitable sacrifice for the efficient exploitation of the national modern territory (Svampa 2008, p.8).

However, as Karl Polanyi reminds us, market rule necessitates institutional mechanisms (rules and regulations), otherwise the commodification of land is unsustainable (Polanyi 2001, p.43). The history of forestry plantations in Chile shows that land as patrimony could not have developed without its colonial governance. Since the annexation of the Araucanía to the Chilean modern territory, the development of the forestry industry (1910) have covered different roles under emerging geographic imaginations of the territory in the integration to the *mondial*. First, forestry industry became means to materially integrate the territory in the formation of a homogenous productive landscape supported by developmentalist programs (until 1973). Second, under a neoliberal economic transformation, forestry industry was offered as a commodity to corporate/financial capital for developing territorial productive enclaves in order to integrate the national economy to the global market. I place the development of the notion of *land as patrimony* at the time of the corporate take over the national forestry industry under the neoliberal economic restructuring program. A new modern form of sovereignty develops, guided exclusively over the governance of resources and corporate private interest. This design establishes a new politics of exclusion that, as Phillip McMichael explains, demands a more complex institutional anchoring (2008, p.642).

In contrast to the notion of patrimony as heritage, land as patrimony presents itself as the most dynamic form of landed relations. Its geography is defined by its expansion making it into a dominant force in the articulation of the modern-colonial countryside. It has its own governance – private and public - and its geography transcends national

boundaries and produces its own ecosystem. While it is presented as a technical innovation defined in economic and spatial terms and ruled by technocratic reforms, the scale and its ecological effects over the soil and the environment articulates a form of spatial ordering that have governing effects. Next, I historicise the multiple roles of the forestry industry in Chile reaching to its current form as a discipline practice over bodies and lands forming *land as patrimony*.

## Forestry and land grabbing in Chile, the formation of corporate patrimony in the Araucanía

When Pine (*Pinus Radiata*) was brought to Chile in 1890 from California by German Federico Albert,<sup>65</sup> it marked the beginning of the first phase of the colonial domestication of the frontier forest as means for the advancement over the southern frontier (Klubock, 2014, p.1). Exotic plantations were envisioned to reforest the region (central-south of Chile) – with the intension to feed the mining industry with wood in the promotion of the internal market and the industrialisation of the nation<sup>66</sup>. The second phase took place during Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship (1973-90) that inverted the industrialisation process to focus on an export-oriented resource industry (Clapp 1995, p.277-8). These two initiatives of expansion of the sector, while advanced in opposite directions, were necessary conditions for the formation of corporate patrimony in the Araucanía, both guided by the direct support of the state.

The first phase of development of a forestry sector started after the Chilean state's vaunted 'pacification of Araucanía' – better explained as the politico-military occupation of the region. The land was distributed between colonists and native populations, the former received the best land - through a first incarnation of the land

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<sup>65</sup> Albert was originally hired to work at the History National Museum in Chile and professor at the national university. He was the creator of the first forestry plan and responsible for the introduction of national parks

<sup>66</sup> A process also known as import substitution industrialization (ISI). An economic policy transformation that started after 1929 when countries rich in resources and highly dependent on central economies found their peripheral economies affected by the American Great Depression. As a result many countries in the Global South started to promote the development of an internal industry and domestic market to reduce their dependency on central economies.

auction system that would be used later under Pinochet- meanwhile, the natives were bestowed the worst lands and enclosed in *reducciones*. With the natives confined to one place, the state was ready to transform the ‘Savage Araucanía’ into a ‘Chilean California’ producing an agricultural heartland and the development engine for the country (Bengoa 2011, p.342). The years 1887 to 1910 thus saw 580,000 hectares burned to develop agricultural land – producing one of the most aggressive and rapid deforestations registered in Latin America before 1980 (Navarro et al. 2005, p.19; Donoso and Lara, 1997). Decades later, this resulted in a socio-ecological crisis<sup>67</sup>. Forestry developed as state policy (Forestry Law 1911, 1925 and 1931), to transform the eroded agricultural land into a novel productive asset. During Salvador Allende’s government (1970-1973) the social demand from peasants, indigenous and rural workers for land redistribution and agrarian reform transformed the incipient forest industry into the most socialised sector of the Chilean economy (Clapp 1995, p.280). With the intention of socialising the nation’s wealth, land expropriation and nationalisation occurred based on the classification of three million hectares for reforestation<sup>68</sup> (Navarro, Carrasco Henríquez et al. 2005, pp.22-3). Following Pinochet’s assumption of power, this process was reversed inaugurating the formation of corporate patrimony.

In the second phase of development of a forestry sector out of 10 million hectares of nationalised and expropriated lands during the agrarian reform, 3 million were sold, as a welcoming gesture to the new economic actors. The Decree 701 (1974)<sup>69</sup> was originally designed to combat soil erosion. However, with the neo-liberalization of the economy, the decree ultimately became a mechanism of state support system for the formation of a corporate take-over of land. The decree offered a package of tax exemptions, a 75% reimbursement and bank credit for investment in reforestation and a guarantee of no expropriation, among other benefits. As Clapp diagnoses, Decree 701 crystallized the transformation of the forestry industry (1995, p.293). This sector

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<sup>67</sup> A report from Forest Resources of the world (1923) registered that by 1920s out of a total of 15,742,271 hectares of forest land, 3,642,170 hcts have been devastated with fire (Klubock 2014, p.69)

<sup>68</sup> That were going to be organised by a cooperative system and state companies.

<sup>69</sup> This law, enacted through a decree during Pinochet’s regime, was used to focus the Central South region of the country on the forestry industry, becoming key in the consolidation of the industry in its current form.



went from a developmentalist paradigm guided by the state, to a global strategy ruled by the market inaugurating the corporate formation of forestry patrimony. In 1985 the forestry model expanded to include direct foreign capital in the ‘second round of privatization auctions’ (Clapp 1995, p.287). State companies involved in the forestry industry in charge of equipment, nurseries and land – such as the National Forestry Corporation (CONAF) – were sold under an auction format at nominal prices, or in Chilean slang, at *precio bueno* (dirt-cheap). To support the industry’s entry into the global market all environmental regulations, export regulations, origin certificates and other forms of inspection were stripped away from CONAF and other state agencies. As Clapp explains, the role of the state agency became one of a holding company selling all its assets – a base of technical support for the development of private industry (1995, p.278).

Land took a central role in the creation of a new corporate space, dominated by a new mode of production in the countryside and the liberalization of the market control of the territory as a site of global plunder and speculation. In the words of Borras et al., ‘the key here is that capital is interested in taking hold of land resources in order to change the meaning and purpose of land use’ (2012d, p.411). Forestry became the new form of acquirable property amid a boom created by the dictatorship as part of its plan to attract foreign investment and the development of a free-market policy. Following national reports from CONAF forest cover increased from 15.6 to 17.5 million (1997-2016) – including native, mixed, and plantations. This is 3 percent of ‘forestry’ expansion from 21- 24% of the continental total area of the Chilean territory. The three per cent difference lies, however, in the development of technologies in cadastre (i.e. precision aerial photography) and the application of the law 20.283 (year 2008) by which forest is redefined by a hectare of land with a minimum of 10% tree cover (before the minimum was 25%). This increase reflects, rather than showing a rapid development of native forest, an expansion of areas to be included in the forestry sector. By 2016 plantations alone covered 3.046 million hectares, which is 17% out of a total of forest cover. With these numbers, Brazil and Chile are respectively number one and two in the world in wood production per hectare, with Indonesia at third<sup>70</sup>.

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<sup>70</sup> Based on the 2014 report of the Movimiento Mundial por los Bosques (World Rainforest Movement) and the Red Latinoamericana contra los Monocultivos de Árboles (RECOMA), Brazil and Chile

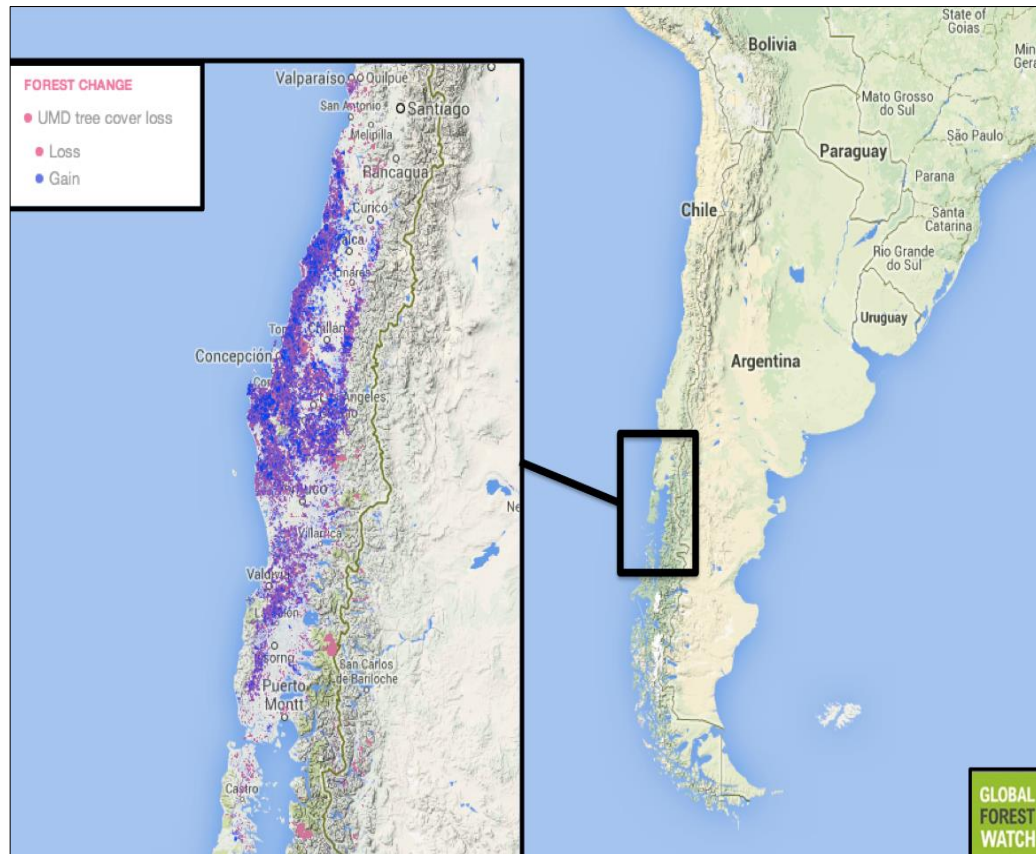


Figure 5 Map Registering Forest Change 2001-2011

Source: Global Forest Watch

Note: This map register a loss 1,088,102 hcts. and a gain of 1,394,610. These changes reflect the cycle of logging and replanting tree plantation. By 2013 tree plantations occupy 43% of the South-central Chile (WRM 2014)

Land corporate concentration represented in Arauco, Mininco, Corfo, Inforsa, CMPC<sup>71</sup> expanded greatly beyond the eroded areas to become a cause of erosion of agricultural soil (Torres-Salinas et al. 2016, pp.130-1). Land occupied by the corporate forestry industry expanded by 80,000 hectares annually from 1974 to 1990 (Clapp 1995, p.283). From having 480,000 hectares in 1974 they extended by over 3 million

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produce three to twelve times more cubic meters per hectare in comparison with countries with a forestry tradition such as Switzerland and Finland (González et al. 2014, p.2).

<sup>71</sup> These companies are in the hands of the foremost economic conglomerates (Cruz-Larraín, Vial and Angelini), which used bank credit to acquire land and dominate previously state-owned industry including mining, fishing, forestry, oil, and banking, among others.

hectares in the country. By 2013, 78.1% of radiate pine belonged to large companies<sup>72</sup> and the majority of the rest (18%) to medium producers. In the Araucanía region, 70% of these lands are controlled by the holdings CMCP (belonging to the Matte family) and ARAUCO (belonging to the Angelini family)<sup>73</sup> – two of the biggest economic groups in Chile, whose industry extends to countries such as Peru, Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay (González et. al., 2014, p.5).

For this corporate economic group, forestry represents just one sector. Known as ‘pirañas’ (pirahans) this corporate conglomerates of companies holds a diverse portfolio of major national sector under their control. Politically, they came to dominate the Chilean economy by buying up state companies sharing interest in all primary and extractive sectors – from fruit, forestry, mining, fishing, petrol to real estate. They became to rule the spatial, political and economic sphere of the national territory that inaugurated a new colonial mode of insertion to the international division of labour structured under the combination of local discipline aligned with foreign capital.

The transformation of a national forestry industry to the formation of land as patrimony was achieved using the ‘shock policy’, inspired by the theory of Milton Friedman and the ‘Chicago Boys’ from the Economic School of the University of Chicago. Also known as ‘shock therapy’, the policy relies on the management of social expectations while incorporating monetary transformations to confront inflation. As Naomi Klein says,

The role of a sudden, jarring policy shift is that it quickly alters expectations, signalling to the public that the rules of the game have changed dramatically – prices will not keep rising, nor will wages (...) Particularly in countries where the political class has lost its

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<sup>72</sup>Large companies are based on a minimum of 30,000 hectares, medium companies between 5,000 and under 30,000, medium landowner between less than 5,000 and 200 and small properties between 5 and less than 200 plantations. For the Araucanía (IX region) the inferior limit is 400 ha in medium and small landowners. (INFOR 2014)

<sup>73</sup> The current report from INFOR 2014 (Forestry Institute) does not provide names of companies, limiting the information to number of existing companies by size – but not ownership. For the current presentation, based on the available information it was decided to use the information from the WRF report.

credibility with the public, only a major, decisive policy shock is said to have the power to ‘teach’ the public these harsh lessons (2007, p.82).

This technocratic take on the economy put into place the free market trinity of privatisation, deregulation and maximum cuts to social spending. But this was accompanied with the physical ‘therapy’ of violence and social repression. André Gunder Frank, an ex-student of Friedman, who worked for Allende’s regime, wrote an open letter to Friedman and Arnold Harberger, saying:

None of these “equilibrating”, “normalizing” and “de-politicizing” measures can be imposed or carried out without the twin elements that underlie them all: military force and terror (1976, p.42).

As Klein highlights the connection between violence and changes in monetary policy observed by Gunder Frank during the Chilean coup d’état shows a real human cost dressed up in a technocratic, supposedly apolitical, discourse that is still used under democracy under the veil of development (Klein 2007, p.84). On the return of the democracy, Foreign Direct Investment, financialization of the economy and concentration of capital consolidated. With the return of the democracy, Decree 701 was extended for ten more years exclusively for small properties with fragile and eroded land – as part of a push to convert the whole rural area to a corporate space. Under the transformation of the development model, small landowners and renters were pressured to either sell<sup>74</sup> or join the forestry sector<sup>75</sup>. Deepening the direction of the neoliberal economy, under a democratic government, Decree 701 re-appears as a form of ‘benevolent capitalism’, a necessary instrumental adjustment justified in the faith of the economic development through an intense appropriation of nature (Gudynas 2010, p.53). Under a promoted productive restructuring, the forestry model

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<sup>74</sup> Under these new competitions and a novel way of calculating things is that there is an impulse to sell land to corporation expanding in rural spaces.

<sup>75</sup> Farmers that have switched their traditional agricultural activity to Forestry Corporation are dependent of corporations’ price formation and have no capacity to sell directly to the global market. All participants become dependent on the two main forestry operators (Matte and Angelini) who control most exports while continuing to dominate the market price (González et. al. 2014, p.7). The long-term investment that the forestry activity implies (between 10-15 years) means that small landowners are captives of corporations having no other income capacity until the tree fleeing is done. Tempted by state subsidies farmers move to pine and eucalyptus also degrading their soil, making the land exclusively suitable for pine and eucalyptus and no capable to other agricultural activity for the future.

it is presented as an inevitability in which the landscape is transformed for exclusive extraction constantly displacing population. For Mapuche communities still struggling to recover land and confronting corporate spaces, the extension of the decree meant the disenchantment of the democratic 'multicultural' integration development that it was promise during the campaign period (Aylwin et.al. 2013, p.43-7) and the continuation of the corporate development model over rural lands.

The social and environmental impact the corporate takeover of the forestry industry over the local economy is rather negative. As Eduardo Gudynas elaborates, these consequences are just socialized and transferred to local communities and regional and national governments but never incorporated to the final prices of these resource extraction commodities (2010, p.55). While the GDP generated by forestry is the second highest after mining<sup>76</sup>, nevertheless the areas where forestry has expanded are registered as with the highest rates of poverty in the country, particularly where the demographics are indigenous population in a majority<sup>77</sup> (CASEN 2009). For Mapuche rural communities, the corporate take-over of the forestry sector became a new source of conflict for ancestral land claims, now owned by the financial sector. But more importantly the extractive model of the forestry industry threatens their capacity for social reproduction and their possibilities to remain in their legally recognized ancestral lands. For local people, the expansion of the forestry industry around them, means that their local source of labour disappeared. But also pressing is the changing in land use and its extractive modes of production. The intensive use of the land by the plantation affects the social function of the soil and the ecosystem. As a result local communities have to deal with erosion and desertification. The impact of the development of the forestry industry in the interest of the global market, the topography mutation and environmental degradation makes livelihood in rural settings under danger. The domination of extractive land use makes the new rural landscape a source of danger.

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<sup>76</sup> Forestry came to occupy second place in exports just behind mining. This was thanks to the military regime's system of direct investment into the sector in the form of subsidies

<sup>77</sup> Under the new statistical methodology The Araucanía has the highest rate of unemployment 27.9% and Biobío 22.3%. Poverty rates also appear as 10% higher among indigenous population (CASEN 2013)

### *New Colonial Ruralities*

The landed relations developing between Mapuche people and forestry corporations represent the most significant social transformation since the military invasion of the Araucanía and the subsequent disciplinary spatial ordering of Mapuche people in reductions. The formation of an abstract corporate space is becoming a dominant force shaping new discourses and material enactments in the violent social-morphology of rural postcolonial geographies. Among rural people in the Araucanía the emerging corporate landscape is called a ‘the green desert’ – referring to the experience of coexisting with massive forestry plantations. This is a space that is exclusive and excluding.

The corporate landscape of the ‘new colonial ruralities’ develops a homogenous space of industrial plantations making of resisting rural communities the last land frontier before completing the take over the whole countryside. The massive expansion of the plantations surrounding rural communities creates a new type of enclosure: it forms a green wall, impossible to ignore, not just because of its magnitude, but also because of its socio-ecological effects. It transforms the cultural landscape<sup>78</sup>, disrupting local practices/topography and producing a hostile relation to local people. The ecological dimension of the corporate landscape is explained by land losing its capacity of environmental regulator. Whole regions become unsustainable for living and incapable of maintaining land practices that permits subsistence economies. This phenomenon of ecological displacement, is a result of soil degradation and it happens, among other reasons, through land exhaustion, lack of water and desertification. The change of land use and its landscape effect, it also serves as a symbol of land material alienation. It disables people’s customary access to land and also its wealth. Similarly to the deforestation of the Araucanía in the nineteenth century, indigenous people become forceful witnesses, guardians<sup>79</sup> and residual containers of the most important market

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<sup>78</sup> For a full analysis over the notion of landscape for Mapuche people look at Le Bonniec (2013) as part of the research project “Constructing Landscape, Constructing Identity” (online)

<sup>79</sup> Rural communities are the first resource to control rural fires. The expansion of exotic plantations in the region alongside climate change facilitated the increase of fires. The Araucanía (IX region) and Bio-Bio (VIII region) both counting with the largest surface with Pine and Eucalyptus, based on CONAF’s

of their region but not participants. In this new dispossession cycle, the local contestations over the spatial ordering becomes guided by a global corporate design.

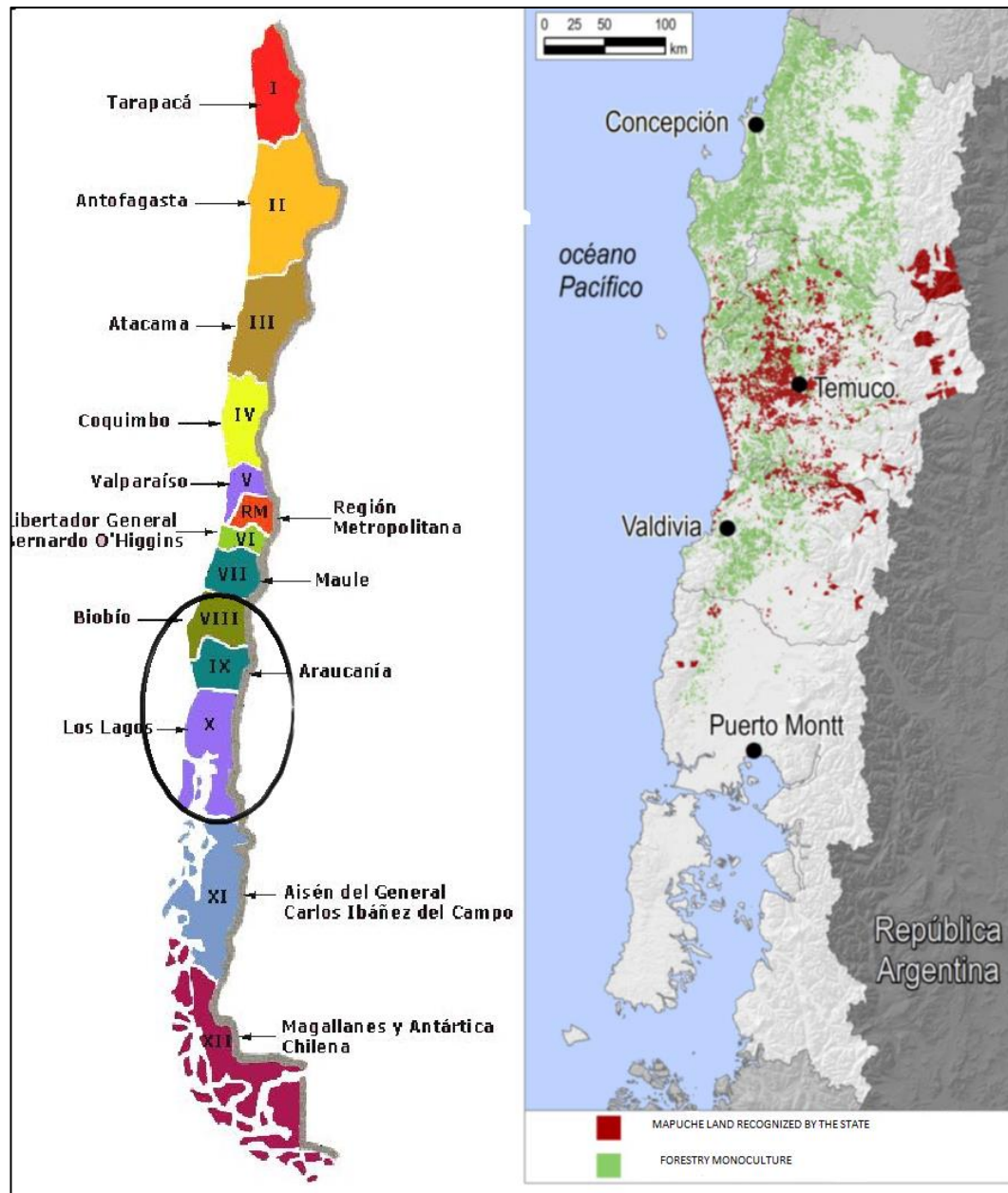
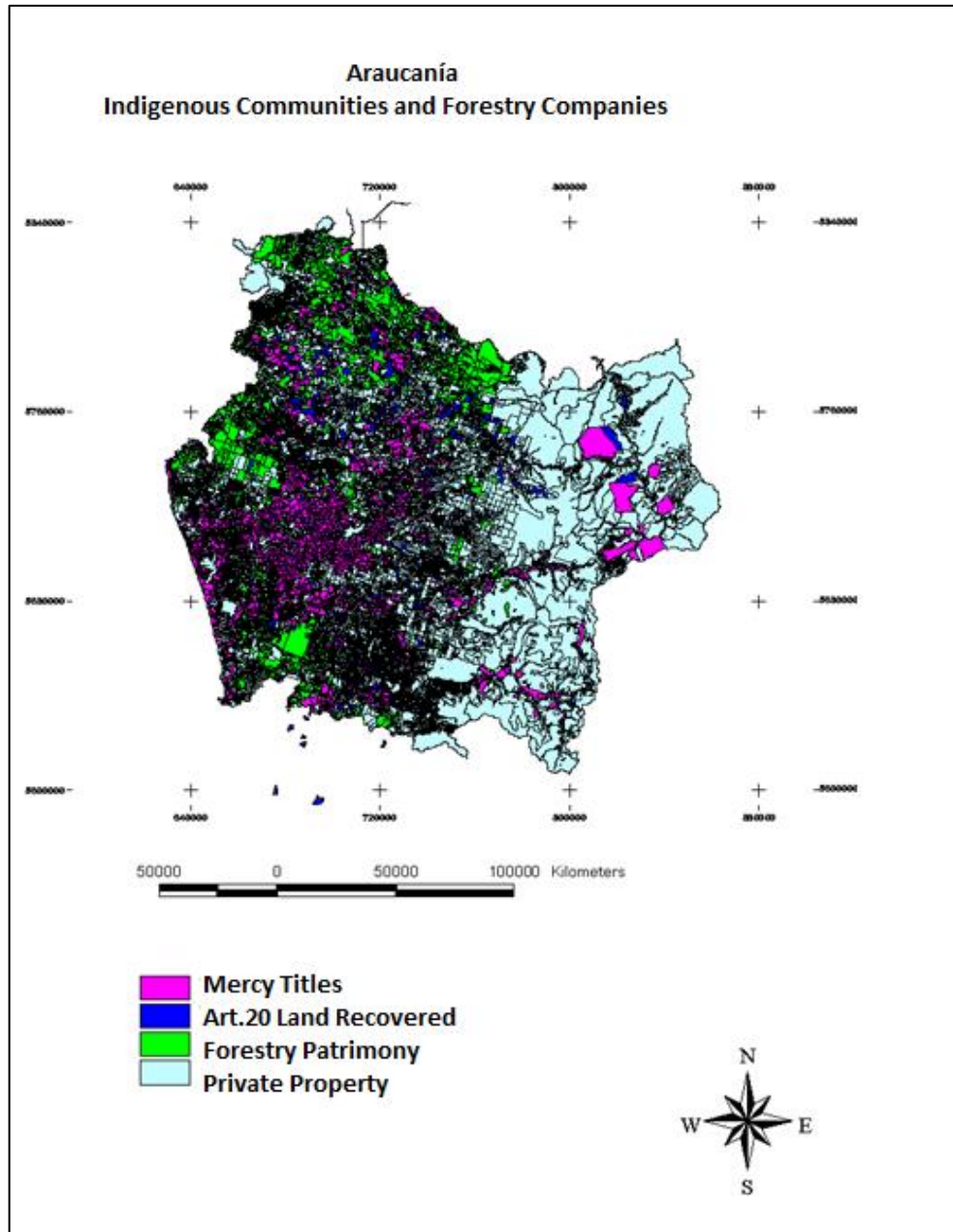


Figure 6 Map of the Biobío and Araucanía Region

Source: Torres-Salinas, Garcia, Henriquez, Zambrano-Bigiarini, Costa e Bolin, 2016

Note: The map on Figure 6 shows the spatial proximity between communities and forestry plantations

2015 statistics report have increased in the quinquennium 2010-2014 to 2015 386.5% and % 740 respectively. Living in rural sites in the summer is becoming dangerous.



*Figure 7 Indigenous Communities and Forestry Industry*

Source: Hugo Salvo (made for this study)

Note: Map of the region of the Araucanía showing lands bought by the CONADI state agency to Mapuche communities (since 1998) under the art.20B that recognizes legal mismatching with Mercy Titles. It also shows the patrimony of forestry industry and private property distribution.



Figure 6 and 7 shows the overlaying between forestry plantation and Mapuche land recognized by the state. As developed in this section, *land as patrimony* and *land as territory* are concepts that allow us to think about land as not being bound to a specific geography, allowing more conceptual flexibility around needs and structural conditions than, for example, the division and denomination of land into nation-state territories. These maps reflect a static image of a process under constant transformation. Projecting towards the future, communities are contesting forestry patrimony, while corporations try to increase their patrimony by expanding their range of influence with the support of state mechanisms. This figure also reflects the proximity of these two forms of landed relations. Looking at the past, and following Mapuche claims, the map does not show forestry corporations' overlay of ancestral and modern Mapuche land dispossession, but both maps show its proximity. Mapuche land contestation with forestry corporations' synthesise the short and long memory of lands claim.

For Mapuche communities, *land as patrimony* operates as the conceptual link between the short and long memory of Mapuche dispossession. Plots of land bought for meaningless prices during the Pinochet regime that started the patrimony of forestry corporations are contested as illegitimate property as they were part of the cooperatives established during the agrarian reform; and subsequently resisted as patrimony (Forestry plantations) by Mapuche communities. In the long memory, landed patrimony expansion coincides in its majority with Mapuche ancestral territory (Wallmapu). Never legally recognized as ancestral lands, hills and mountains now reclassified as having forestry aptitude are renamed as 'under-used lands'. Lands that were in the margins of commercial interest (and kept as state-land), with the technological development of forestry industry, become potential sites for the expansion of the plantation industry. State subsidised (art. 701) and the relaxation of forest category (law 20.283) have been used to facilitate the corporate expansion over contested lands (Aylwin et.al 2013, p.47) continuing with the state support for land dispossession and the expansion of corporate enclaves economies. As such, in the multilayer of both memories (colonial and counter agrarian reform) adds the new ecological enclosure in the same region. In this historical overlapping, corporate patrimonies became the main target of Mapuche communities.

In comparison with *land as property*, landed relations under patrimony are not fixed in space. Its dynamic nature is what it makes their enclosure more threatening for fixed rural communities given their constant capacity of advancing over people's land. Land as patrimony develops as a self-sufficient new rurality (Teubal 2001, p.45). They depend on their vertical and horizontal expansion in the creation of corporate spaces. Vertically, guided by market interest that are integrated to the global economy. They have full control of the productive process departing from the raw material in the Global South to their market allocation in central global economies. Horizontally, patrimony encompasses a conquest of time and space with acceleration (Lopez 2007, p.6). This means that the competitive aspect of global agribusiness is determined by the conflation of time and space that is expressed in yield gaps- a calculation on actual production against potential maximum production<sup>80</sup>.

Nevertheless, this is not new; as presented in chapter I land valorisation through its monetization has a long history in the philosophical history of landed relations. Corporate spaces conform the continuation of colonial imaginative geographies transfiguring notions of 'terra nullis' to normalised discourses in postcolonial contexts of 'development' calculated on yield gaps – among other technologies of spatio-ecological productivity. The difference lies that *land as patrimony* is pushing the geo-historical boundaries that makes *land as property* a sustainable project. The continuum of property (micro) and modern state territory (macro) is undermined by the advancement of corporate spaces. Under patrimony, private property loses its hegemonic position of articulating landed relations. This means, that new governing bodies, discourses and practices are enacting new modes of legitimate exclusion in the production of the modern-colonial countryside while debunking the principles that organized the discourses and material enactments of property relations.

It is not by chance that corporate spaces emerged in the Global South. *Land as patrimony* comes to represent the material development of the first experiment of unregulated capitalism in space. This corporate relation to land constitutes the economic and material foundation for the formation of corporate spaces or commonly known as

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<sup>80</sup> The time/space articulation of land production offers the most advantageous economic valuation for the allocation of the commodity.

‘nation of owners’ (Friedman 2002). As presented here, this socio-spatial production emerged through and is sustained by violent practices. In the postcolonial context, land – the basic resource for the tree – becomes the expression of forestry engineers as explained to me by Leiva ‘a necessary evil’ (interview 01/16), when compared to other forestry development models in which land is not always owned by corporations but are made of alliances between small landowners (and renting plots) in which companies provide constant capital (plants, cellulose plants, transport, panels, and all other aspects of the chain supply) abstaining themselves of a governing responsibility over the land (fixed capital).

In the case of the Araucanía, the historical and contemporary violent acquisition of *land as patrimony* makes this cooperative business model an unrealistic scenario. The historical formation of the *patrimony* (land and its plantations) made it so contested that for corporations the idea of returning ancestral lands and assuring that the business can still continue seems impossible. But it is under this premise of legal, illegal and ecological violence that a corporate form of patrimony could have ever existed. But, treated as the most important asset for the modernization of the country, integrating the national economy to the global market and ‘feeding the world’, these forms of corporate spaces are not questioned more than by local people and indigenous communities absorbing its socio-environmental consequences.

On the other side of the spectrum, *land as patrimony* in post-colonial geographies operates as a catalyst for communal resistance in the encounter of the ancestral and modern dispossession of Mapuche people. In the new extractive affordance of land as patrimony the conditions for land contestation change. Under *land as patrimony* as in comparison with property, access to land becomes a battle against time. It is not just a claim of land that was held in common in a sovereign past, but more so, forestry patrimony is contested for its socio-environmental consequences in the production of an abstract corporate space and the material alienation from their ancestral territory. It is not just the legal division (property) that separates them from their ancestral land but its disciplined ecology that becomes alienated from its past social marks. Sedimented in the same plots of land, *land as patrimony* converge a renewed form of

dispossession alienating land from local people while threatening to become a hostile relational element as well in people's everyday life.

While *land as patrimony* as a type of landed relation form attempted to disentangle from the network of nation-state territory to just govern land as exclusively an extractive resource, the social-environment grounded aspects of land could not be ignored, as a result of its scale and the erosive and degrading side-effects of the making of corporate spaces. Hence, the way that patrimony engages with its 'neighbours' and their lands, changed along with development national paradigms and political opportunities and constrains. Against the classic approach to land grabbing through notions of failed states or national governance subjugation (see Chapter I), I have shown how forestry corporate patrimony was created thanks to the explicit support of the state and have articulated forms of corporate governance with its direct investment. Following on from this analysis, I will now present the different modes in which *land as patrimony* accommodated to govern their spatial enclaves in a pendulum movement from rejection of any recognition of a local existence and criminalization of conflicts, to validation of local demands and ancestral territorial claims.

### *Between Criminalization of Landed Conflicts and Private Paternalism Welfare*

Since the return to democracy and under a fully developed extractive capitalist model, struggles of land access have shifted to a more complex axis: from class position to an ethnic spatial one. The anchoring of ethnicity to a bounded space has changed its direction in the colonial governance of spaces to one of capitalization of the disposed lands in a novel calculated distribution between people and things.

Conceptually, the racialization of space/spatialization of race, as explained in Chapter II is still operating in the formation of development paradigms. Following Hale (2004) *mestizaje* ideology of governance has been followed by state ideology of multiculturalism. Hale's concept of 'Mestizo Project' refers to racial policies of assimilation and governance of unitary citizenship as the racial axis of power organizing the region since the 20 century. This is a racist social order that enforces a system of shame and denigration (Hale 2004, p.2). *Mestizaje* in land can be explained

as the disciplinary whitewashing of space and people. In the Chilean context, the mestizo paradigm was materialized by state promotion of private property and the dismantling of indigenous communal land (Decree 2568 applied in 1979 changing the Indigenous law 17.729). Under this decree law, the indigenous common land tenancy was muted into private property. This process is called *bijuelización* of the land (individual property deed). Like this, the law pretended to emend the discrimination that the indigenous had suffered, by establishing that the framing of 'indigenous property' was the condition for limiting their development. With communal land divided and integrated as private property, individualized subject could access to subsidies and land but also to sell. The productive use of land became entangled with a notion of citizenship enforcing a contrasting imaginary with the lazy backwards indigenous. As Hale's puts it 'people could enjoy these rights only by conforming to a homogeneous mestizo cultural ideal' (Hale, 2004, p.2).

In the post-dictatorship, the economic structuring program was not reversed; it was rather counterbalanced by a multiculturalist's governance throughout Latin America in the enhancement of ethnic difference. Structurally, this meant a combination of aggressive economics reforms accompanied by an emergence of ethnic rights exacerbating empowerment of some and the marginalization of the majority. Socially, the multiculturalism project redefined native populations through a process of 'folklorisation', which itself is yet another mechanism for colonialism. This is what Rivera Cusicanqui calls 'a conditional inclusion' that defines the boundaries of second-class citizenship through a caricaturesque portrayal of subaltern identities (2012, p.100). In 'neoliberal multicultural' Chile (Richards 2010, p.59) those who fall outside these parameters have been framed either as mestizos with no real indigenous identity, or terrorists with an irrational and violent mentality. In the spectrum of land, this new governance method represent a novel uneven distribution of land access around the notion of the ancestral as a validating measure for legitimate access. As a result, in everyday practices this form of private sovereignty have developed under two extremes, from state criminalization under the realm of global terror, to forestry corporations granting 'patrimonial access' in the validation of cultural difference.

Since the return of democracy in Chile in 1990 special deployment of forces have been used in cases of arson toward private property, such as the ‘Lumaco case’ (1997). In this case the arson of three trucks belonging to the company ‘Forestal Bosques Arauco’ inaugurated a criminalization process. This incident was used to reactivate the Chilean Law of State Security<sup>81</sup> and anti-terrorist law used during the dictatorship. Constructed as if it was an external aggression, the direct action of arson initiated by Mapuche groups were treated as risking national interest and affecting national patrimony, resulting in a militarised prosecution. In this period, a juridical reform took place (1991): under the pressure of the corporate conglomerates, stronger punitive measures and repressive actions were formalized in order to protect private patrimonies. In the other extreme, and under global governance pressures (ILO, Inter-American Commission of Human Rights) and global regulatory certificates (FSC, ISO 9001), forestry corporations drastically altered land governance, to avoid the judicialization of land conflicts attempting to directly negotiate resolutions of land access in the exaltation of indigenous status. Both methods (see Chapter V) nevertheless express the continuum of colonial violence in space, either by othering practices or paternalistic treatment of land contestations. In both cases, the governance of *land as patrimony* becomes prioritised over other social spatial forms that characterise traditional rural life. The notion of bounded territory mutates under the creation of enclaves of extraction that fragment the territory, resulting in a dynamic of territorial violence highlighted by social dislocation.

## Conclusion

As I have argued, following Lefebvre’s method, concepts are spaces of political dispute. The incorporation of *land as property* attempts to establish a regime of land regulation based on the productive tenancy of land and the establishment of a system

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<sup>81</sup> This law (N° 12.927) created in 1958, categorises crimes against national sovereignty and was traditionally applied to combat subversion, rebellion and political violence (HRW, 2004, p.2). In 1997, this law was reactivated. The invocation of special security laws dealt with the situation, rather than conventional laws related to arson. Under the *Ley de Seguridad Interior del Estado* (Law of State Security; LSE), 12 Mapuche people were incarcerated and prosecuted in less than 15 days.

of exclusion that responded to a national order. *Land as patrimony*, on the other hand, takes place within the context of global land grabbing and ‘new rurality’ (Teubal 2001). The expansion of *land as patrimony* has debunked the unquestioned position of property relations creating emerging pressures also from below.

In this spatial and conceptual rearticulation abstract knowledge production from the margins has been as relevant as concrete actions (such as land squatting, symbolic occupations) in the territorial formation of land. It has been in the interaction of practice and knowledge that local discourses are emerging. Concepts such as TI emerges among Mapuche intellectuals like Mariman (2002) and Caniuqueo Huircapan (2005) that generate a discourse through the definition of their own categories also contributing in the self-definition of the Mapuche subjectivity departing from structuralist Western approaches that impose their categories onto them (Martinez Berrios 2012, p.57). Under the same umbrella of intellectual contestation to the Western worldview, the political organization articulated in partialities of land (rather than the complete historical territory) and by different power networks allow for a more flexible approach for negotiations (Le Bonniec 2002, p.31). These negotiations will depend on the region, the municipality, the landlord, the government, the NGO, the type community, material ties and other governance and material exchanges. All these elements produce contingent and structural conditions as to how land relations are managed, explaining the way in which communities have taken different path in their struggle choices.

The next chapter follows Lefebvre’s historical-genetic approach of rural sociology in order to investigate the historical landed relations in the Araucanía from the perspective of enclosure regimes. The analysis will look at enclosure spatiality in the encounter between natives and colonizer. I will treat the usage of different materials for enclosure (such as barbed wire, wood, hedges and plantations) as technologies that enabled different forms and scales for disciplinary ordering and resistance. In the historicity of regimes of enclosure I will expose the current contestation over the multiple forms of land governance and its colonial premises.

## Chapter IV: History of Land Enclosures in the Araucanía

*I don't know how far the pacifiers with their metallic noise will move on*

...  
*When the pacifiers point  
Of course they shot to make peace,  
And sometimes they even pacify two birds with one shot  
(Ode to Peace,  
Mario Benedetti*

### Introduction

While in the enclosure of the commons hedges played a fundamental role in the transition from tenure property to modern property and territory (Blomley 2007), the expansion of patrimonial lands in the rural sphere is transforming nation-state territory into a spatial enclave system, with the very plantations themselves acting as their own border. Poor and indigenous rural populations survived previously spatially accommodating in *reducciones* while fixing their identities. However their lands now defined as ‘under-used’<sup>82</sup> or unexploited are, in the current development of capital, ideal assets for the current global market and native people are demanded to be unfixed.

This chapter elaborates a history of land relations through practices of enclosure. From the use of hedges, human fences, barbed wire and industrial plantation I propose to recover the history of landed relations between colonized and colonizers and its mutual co-constitution in the region of the Araucanía. In Chapter I, I challenged the fixation of *land as property* and its ideological and epistemological effects; Chapter II presented

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<sup>82</sup> Marginal land is a way to categorise land as not sufficiently exploited, along with other terms like under-used or unproductive. Though people might be living on or using the land, satellite technology displays a different landscape of productivity. Using satellite imaging, the World Bank found ‘yield gaps’ totalling 445 million hectares globally (Akram-Lodhi 2012, p.128). The yield gap is based on actual production against potential maximum production.



land in its dialectical form and explored the role of race in producing new forms of power in rural spaces under the influence of extractive capitalism and resistant indigenous movements; and Chapter III developed the conceptual forms of *land as territory* and *land as patrimony*, two landed relations that are moulding the modern-colonial countryside under the contestation between local resistance and global designs. This chapter continues with Lefebvre's historico-genetic method in order to analyse the history of rural Araucanía in 'its relationship with the human community and social structure, agricultural productivity and population movements' (Lefebvre 2003, p.113). Following a relational and conflictual approach to landed relations, I use practices of enclosure and its technological developments to historicize the ways in which colonial disciplinary spatial ordering have developed until these days in the attempt to incorporate land into different liberal political projects. Explaining contested meanings and its materialization in these spaces invites to the following questions. How is land named, what kind of value is it assigned what kind of subjects are produced and what kind of relations are enabled in this processes of changing land valuation. Addressing these questions will permit a fluid understanding of landed relations in the making of subjects and places of the modern-colonial countryside.

The most dominant form of land enclosure has led to a framing of land in legal, economic and technocratic terms; however, beyond property, land has been valued as an element of culture, identity, ontology, among others. Different regimes of enclosure will be historicised using the case of Araucanía in Chile, a land still contested in its meaning, practices and representations. Although almost all land around the world is already enclosed as property within the nation-state system, I will argue that current technologies of spatial governance are creating a new regime of corporate enclosure that challenges the social role of land and people's relationship with it.

Enclosure regimes are critical to understanding and visualising how a racist modernity is spatialized in the postcolonial countryside. While the development of the modern, through the emerging spatial forms of extractive capitalism and corporate spaces (outlined in chapters I and III), appears associated with technology, speed and circulation, coloniality suggest that modernity is not only about an increase in movement but also about the control of it. Selective confinement completes the racial

classifier in power relations, in the establishment of the modern-colonial space. This means to put violence in the centre of the formation of these enclosures by enabling a legal and economic system that would assure the continuation of expropriation and exploitation of racialized peoples and lands. With this aim, a pool of different rules, technologies and techniques produces restrictions, limitations and constrains of movement to delineate the ways people should relate to land, deploying a seemingly non-violent spatial demarcation for the materialization of political and economic projects of subjugation and domination of the racialized other. However, the enrolment and mobilization of peoples and lands into these disciplinary enclosures face resistance. Against a notion of a vertical dominant imposition in the regimes of enclosure with no resistance, this chapter argues that enclosures are products of a co-constitutive process of violent socialization between invaders and natives. The result of these spatial contestations is presented in this chapter in the form of a history of enclosures in the Araucanía.

This chapter maps contemporary and sedimented regimes of enclosure in the Araucanía through of a combination of ethnographic work, historical archives, oral histories and secondary literature. As presented in Chapter III, this method incorporates community's memories that also configured communal Mapuche spatial adaptation to the national territorial project that are not to be found in archival legal documents – these depart from the history of private and state political imaginaries that are conserved as the official national memory. By recovering these subaltern perspectives this chapter gives pre-eminence to a history of resistance that interwoven communal adaptation to a colonial persistence. Following Lefebvre's regressive-progressive method, through the reconstitution of this violent history of the formation of people and spaces through landed relations, we can understand the current forms of ancestral and modern appearances of enclosures (property, territorial identities; patrimonial access) as a historical process of negotiations and compromises between colonial forces and native collectives' resistance.

The modern history of land grabbing in the Araucanía starts with the military campaign organised by the state of Chile in a process ironically named the *Pacificación*

(pacification), or the *Ocupación* (occupation) of the Araucanía (1859-1881)<sup>83</sup>, which lasted more than twenty years. However, before looking at the historical period that I will call ‘Geopolitical Enclosure’ it is necessary to engage with the previous colonial period. Called by this thesis ‘Colonial Liminal Relations’, this period explores the mutual spatial accommodation and miscegenation (*mestizaje*) between Hispanics and natives by looking at the indigenous resistance to the military colonial domination of a region that continues to be known as ‘the frontier’. The Geopolitical Enclosure section shows the making of enclosures as part of a modern discourse of reordering the colonial apparatus of domination and expropriation. Within this section, we will see the use of different technologies for spatial disciplinary ordering – such as the *reducciones de indios*, live and dead fences and barbed wire- and its resistance – human fences. I will present these technologies of discipline and resistance in its historical order. First, the *reducciones de indios* as a legal means for fixating native people in a limited plot of land, second the emergence of ‘human fences’ as indigenous resistance practice attempting to extend those boundaries; third, live and dead fences as a first permanent material demarcation of those borders and its ecological consequences; and fourth, barbed wire and its mass scale topographical transformation. The final section called ‘Ecological Enclosure’ presents industrial plantations as a new regime of enclosure in the articulation of a new assemblage of the rural to a corporate global market. This new technology of ordering is different, given that is radically affecting the relation between peoples and land but also because is challenging the Geopolitical Enclosure regimented by nation-state system. The massive expansion of pine and eucalyptus in this region transform the ecosystem making the same plantations to operate as an ecological fence. This novel form of land disposition in function of corporate interest will be the departing point to the next chapter that will explore the contemporary forms of resistance, complicity and negotiation among Mapuche people, forestry corporations and state agents, that is delineating the modern-colonial countryside.

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<sup>83</sup> Depending on the author the length of the ‘Pacificación de la Araucanía’ or the invasion started either between 1859- 1881 (Pinto 2002) or 1862-1883 (Calbucura no year) 1867- 1883 (Correa 2012). I will follow Pinto’s dating from now on.

## Colonial Liminal Relations

Following the argument of Frontier Studies<sup>84</sup> (Turner 1963 and Webb 1953) on the relevance of the frontier in shaping the colonizer's (American) development, Victor Diaz Gajardo distinguishes two main phases of encounter between the Spanish (or Hispanic-Creoles) and Araucanos - the name given to the Mapuche people from this region- (or Mapuche people). The first phase was marked by a solely militaristic approach (1545-1641), and the second was characterised by coexistence (1641-1861). After the failure of the military campaign to conquer land south of the Bio-Bio River as a result of difficult terrain, weather and the multifaceted socio-political organisation of the natives (Boccará 2002, p.63), a productive frontier relationship was established whose dynamic of violent confrontation was peppered with more productive relations (Gajardo 2014).

However, under a postcolonial approach to frontier relations this thesis needs also to consider the transformation of the colonized in the encounter with the colonizer. Following ethno-historian Guillaume Boccará (2002), borders (against the concept of frontier) can be understood as limits that are created as means to incorporate the Other (2002, p.54) while also shaping the colonized. In contestation to the traditional ethnocentric approach to Turner's 'wilderness' and 'vanishing Indian' in frontier relations<sup>85</sup>, this thesis returns to the colonial matrix of power to look at this spatial encounters as part of the institutionalization process of racialized relations. The 'clash' that the conquest and colonization of America not written in spatially a priori marked lines 'between civilization and barbarism, but as an imagine territory, unstable and permeable to circulation, commitment and struggle' (Boccará, 2002, p.48). I call this period between native people in the Araucanía and creoles 'liminal relations', as it remains a better conceptual framework than 'the frontier' for understanding these spaces of transition and mutual transformation. Looking at their relations in this fluid manner helps to unfold and contest a narrative of a colonial/postcolonial history as an

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<sup>84</sup> Frederick Jackson Turner and Walter Prescott Webb thesis called Frontier Studies to the historical formation of the North American West, in which it is interpreted that beyond war there were other points of contact between the aboriginal population and the colonial powers.

<sup>85</sup> Boccará follows the line of work of the journal of the New Western History and New Indian History (from the 1980s) that recovers the centrality of the Indian and contests the ethnocentric approach to history by recovering the agency of native people in participating in the formation of the frontier.

antagonistic process between acculturation or resistance (making of the history of the Araucanía for example a site shut down in an eternal primitivism) of the indigenous trajectory. The colonial pacts between colonizer and natives further presented expose this process mutual transition in the history of the Araucanía.

This period of liminal social relations was formalised in 1641 by a treaty called *Las Paces de Quillin*<sup>86</sup>. As presented in Chapter III, this was the first formal agreement<sup>87</sup> between the Spanish crown and the Mapuche. This agreement recognised a territory between the Bío Bío and Toltén Rivers over which the Spanish would not have jurisdiction; leaving it under the control of the Mapuche authorities (Correa and Mella 2012, p.27). Frontier stability lasted more than 200 years in the Araucanía. The entanglement with the colonial society expanded a commercial network between creole people and Mapuche that benefited while pacified both sides of the Bio-Bio River. The kind of economy developed was a combination of depredation, commerce and herding (Bocara 2002, p. 67), while producing a liminal transformative space. When cattle and horses brought from Spain for the subsistence of the colony were left free to reproduce in the Pampas<sup>88</sup>, the vast plains played host to an uncontrolled reproduction of cattle and horses. With no technologies in use other than bushes, trees and wood as fences for their *haciendas*, the newborn non-domesticated animals were left to roam wild across the land. This was land beyond the control of both the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata (Argentina) and the Captaincy General of Chile. However, as horses and cattle were integral parts of the colonial economy and diet, this became a valuable asset for the development of the liminal relations. Expeditions to recover the untamed animals were almost exclusively carried out by non-Hispanic people. Responding to the demand of the Chilean side of the colony, the Araucanos crossed the Andes to the Pampas in order to hunt the wild animals, becoming the main providers of meat and winter clothing<sup>89</sup>.

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<sup>86</sup> The significance of this agreement is underlined by the approval of King Philip II through the Real Cedula in 1641 (January 6) and its subsequent incorporation into the *Gran Colección de Tratados de Paz de la Corona Española* (Spain 1740, Great collection of treaties of the Spanish Crown)

<sup>87</sup> According to Bengoa (2007), this was the only formal treaty established between the Spanish crown and indigenous people in Latin America. For more details see *El tratado de Quilín* (Bengoa 2007).

<sup>88</sup> Pampas and Patagonia both are part of the region considered part of the frontier space

<sup>89</sup> The intensification of the network and interdependency economy belongs to a process known as the 'Araucanización' of the pampas. Women were in charge of the production of the ponchos- typical coat of the region

What this story tells is that by the lack of their own technology and not having sufficient colonial agents to conquest and dominate the Araucanía, this spatial divide became, rather, a productive ensemble functional to the colonial needs and adaptable for the conditions of natives' autonomy.

The institutionalization of the frontier relations helped colonial agents to transform the resistant, multiform and disperse region into a legible space. Collective treaties were sought in areas such as commerce, politics, and military and religious spheres (Boccará 2002, p.64). Under this agreement, the people of Araucanía assured the exclusive strategic position between the Hispanic-Creoles in the southern region of Valdivia and the natives of the Pampas to the east: a situation that created conditions for a productive peace with the Spanish Colony to the north as key articulators of a Trans-Andean network economy.

Following Boccará (2002), during this period of liminal relations, two forms of sociability were established between the Spanish and the natives, characterised by the Jesuit Mission and the parliament. The main line of communication was organised by the Jesuits with their civilising mission; while on the other hand the parliament hosted political meetings. Parliament activity was aimed at centralising the organisation of the natives, forcing the formation of permanent political authorities in a specific place and for a specific amount of time. The change in power apparatus from military to converse negotiation and social-religious subjugation reflected a new reading of the frontier space by the Christian agents of the colonial metropolis<sup>90</sup>. Under the leadership of Luis de Valdivia (Jesuit missionary) the parliament was arranged as the meeting point for Mapuche and colonial powers in the creation of a 'consensus space' (Lazaro Avila 2002, p.211).

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<sup>90</sup> One of the pressure groups that propose a diplomatic approach to the frontier territory came from Luis de Valdivia and the 'Jesus Company'. After several military confrontations (Arauco War), loss of lives and money, the War Board of the Council of the Indies debated how to end the war. They proposed a frontier line at the south of the Bio-Bio River in which just Jesuitical missionaries would be the only ones allowed to enter to the frontier region for the evangelization of the natives. This proposal came as a response against the bellicose-slavery policy of the colonial system (Lazaro Avila 2002, p.203). This is what it was called the Defensive war that it was finally materialized under the direction of Valdivia in 1611.

The parliament, the mission and the colonial judicial-political methods were established as part of technologies of power/knowledge, simultaneously implementing the fixation of spaces and people (Boccará 2002, p.64). Through this new methodology, a new disposition for the legibility of peoples and lands were formatted. The institutionalisation and formalisation of these encounters, while facilitated a point of contact and enabled an interaction with the native people, also fixed roles and socio-spatial positions. This identity and spatial fixity-readability, weakened the multifaceted organisation of the natives' political culture that had in part been the source of their military strength – institutionalising new norms. Natives became attached to particular areas of Araucanía by a naming process – of people, communities and subareas – producing an arbitrary racialization of social groups<sup>91</sup> according to their location and political/military positioning at the time. Although the agreement gave the Mapuche groups a guarantee of territorial autonomy and the development and expansion of commerce, it became the first step to pervade the political autonomist space of the native peoples. Meanwhile the system of *haciendas* was entering the region as part of embedded frontier relations, along with mechanisms of evangelisation, and the annual parliaments, all conforming mechanisms incorporating the Mapuche peoples into the colonial matrix of power.

Under this liminal dynamic, fixation of bodies to land were not fully established yet but a process of racialization of space/space racialization became the conditions for the formation of those relations. As long as land was not seen as the goal of the colonial metropolis, this liminal space still constituted an opportunity for mutual exploitation and a resistance space for the autochthonous peoples at the south of the Biobío River. The diplomatic approach promoted by the Jesuits showed how power-technologies of legibility and fixation proven to be the most productive strategy for the colonization project.

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<sup>91</sup> Boccará argues these were neither cultural nor ethnic markers. For example, the Pehuenches and Huilliches were two groupings invented thanks to their location at the time of certain agreements made with the Spanish. For more see 'Colonización, resistencia y etnogenesis en las fronteras americanas' (Boccará 2002, p.47-82).

## Disentangling liminal relations

Following Jorge Pinto's historical study on southern borderlands between the Araucanía and the Pampas (1996), the period of 'frontier relations' started to see its end as a result of a series of geopolitical and economic factors during the second half of the nineteenth century. Pinto identifies three main threats to the frontier space and the indigenous groups operating under the Trans-Andean network: nation-state formation, the integration of their economies into international markets, and the physical narrowness of the land and its implications for the land market (Pinto 1996, p.35-36).

The Spanish colonial economy was initially determined by a process focused on the extraction of wealth. Colonial governing bodies conceived the land as a site of extraction,<sup>92</sup> and local populations were treated as subjects to be subordinated in order to extract that wealth (Pinto 1996, p.13). Araucanía was a non-dominated terrain but covered a role of a productive frontier space as material source for the maintenance of the living standards of the colonial agents. The central southern region was accepted as a peripheral area of the colony which provided agriculture and cattle for the 'Reino de Chile' (Chilean Kingdom<sup>93</sup>), the local landowners, businessman and soldiers<sup>94</sup>. This delicate alliance between an incipient capitalist mode of production and the indigenous mode of social reproduction lasted as long as the land of the Araucanía was not seen as valuable in itself. This changed with the arrival of the nation-state system and a definite change in the mode of production and capitalist insertion in the region. In Pinto's words: 'When the land became an expensive and scarce medium of production, [the indigenous] fate was sealed' (Pinto 1996, p.39).

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<sup>92</sup> Of gold, mine and copper, in the northern lands of the colony.

<sup>93</sup> One of various names given by the Spanish Empire to the region that today encompasses the Chilean territory, excluding Araucanía.

<sup>94</sup> While the Hispanic-Creoles were providing horses, cereals, iron, liquor, sugar, tobacco and clothing among other goods incorporated into the indigenous lifestyle and everyday life – for more on the interdependency between the colony and the indigenous population look at 'Los *araucanos* en Las Pampas' (Mandrini and Ortelli 2002, pp.237-257).



Mapuche territorial autonomy formally established during the colonial period reached an end with the military annexation by the Chilean state (1859-1881). For the emerging modern national state, all pre-existing commercial, social, political and economic relations between Hispanic and Mapuche people needed to be dismantled. The 20 years of the *Pacificación* war were not solely an attempt at military conquest, but also the dismantling of a diffuse socio-political system attached to the region's topography that had developed since the colonial arrival. The modern territorial regime aim to reform these relations into something that responded to a new centralised government and the needs of the capitalist world economy. In order to make the nation-state paradigm spatially feasible a *Geopolitical Enclosure* was established which I allude in the following section.

## Geopolitical Enclosure

*Arauco has a pain blacker than its chamal  
Today it's no longer the Spanish who make them cry  
It's the Chileans themselves who take away their bread  
Get up Pailabuan!  
(Composer Violeta Parra 1984)*

The Chilean wars of independence from the Spanish Empire (1810-1826) took place as part of a political paradigm shift happening throughout the region during the nineteenth century, under which, the relation to land and the conceptualisation of territory were under transformation (Boccaro 2002, p.55). For the creole people, the land was the political condition for creating an independent sovereign nation, conceiving territory in its liberal form as a form of 'government of population' (Foucault 2004). For the colonial government, the land was an economic-strategic site to keep under control in order to sustain the source for the crown wealth accumulation. The establishment of the nation-state system was accompanied by a different understanding on what a territory entailed. The expansion over the southern frontier is constitutive of this genesis of the modern state territory. As an example, in the interior of the national territory, the Argentine Pampas became the main resource of the nation's economy, through the expansion of estates and the mass breeding of

domesticated animals. At the same time, wild animals were becoming scarce. Both factors were key to the transformation of the landscape in Patagonia and a major threat to transhumantic<sup>95</sup> commerce and indigenous land use. The control of territory in the form of a politico-strategic control of the land implies ‘violence [that] includes a specific rationality, that of accumulation that of the bureaucracy and the army’ (Lefebvre 1991, p.280). This was a central concern in the onset of the state system throughout the nineteenth century. Geopolitical enclosure becomes an appropriate term to explain the transformation of the mode of social reproduction to one aligned with,

[a] global sense of enclosure... [that] creates a new territory that would give rise to a change in the scale of the traditional economic function of the countryside and a change in degree in which territory and its resources would not be understood merely as an end in itself, but also as a means for governing the population (Sevilla-Buitrago 2012, p.211)

Although the Chilean state initially focused on the extraordinary economic benefits of the country’s north, the conquest of Araucanía became a necessity with ‘the penetration of the coal mining companies, the economic crisis of 1857 and the pressure of the English investors who were arriving to the country’ (Pinto 1996, p.44). During the nineteenth century Chile was already immersed in several wars,<sup>96</sup> the Argentine state was advancing through the Patagonia (*‘Campana al Desierto’* 1833-34 and 1878-1885) claiming sovereignty over it, and the land market was expanding. Overall the micro (private property) and macro (territory) politics of land and space were turning the state’s attention to the south of the country. At the proclamation of the state of Chile (1818), the independence leader Bernardo O’ Higgins, stated:

The continental territory of Chile and its adjacent islands make, by fact and by right, a free State, independent and sovereign and forever free from the Spanish monarchy and

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<sup>95</sup> Normally related to a system of extensive grazing or seasonal farming (low and high areas) or nomadic pastoralism (stockbreeding or sheep). It refers to movements in space and usage of land in extensive ways with no property or frontiers restrictions. In this case it is also used for extended commerce and cross of the Andes.

<sup>96</sup> War of the Confederation with Peru and Bolivia (1836-1839), War of the Pacific (1879-1883) with Peru and Bolivia, both over control of land, mining resources (saltpetre) and sea access and routes.

any other domination, with all power to decide on the most convenient form of government (1818)

The existence of an autonomous territory dividing north and south Chile was seen as an irregularity in a modern nation-state, as written in a Chilean newspaper at the time:

For centuries the Araucanía has been described as impossible to subdue; that it's difficult to make its hard head bow down... Error! The current Araucanian Indians are no longer the heroes immortalised by Ercilla in his poem; the populations of Angol, Mulchén, Quidico and Toltén prove that eloquently. We have faith and confidence in the men directing the destinies of the frontier; we appeal to their zeal and patriotism that they overcome once and for all a territory that up to now has been nothing more than an anomaly on our map (El Meteoro newspaper 1866, cited in Díaz Gajardo 2014)

An autonomous piece of land in the middle of the map of the nation-state was seen as a spatial inconsistency. During the Spanish colonial times in which the ultimate objective was extracting resources, an autonomous region could be accepted within the framework of colonial relations. In contrast, a nation-state project implies government of land and people. State space then needs to be spatially rational in the form of the homogenisation and normalisation of territory in one single code of conduct, eliminating all previous relations to land and non-capitalist forms of social reproduction. As Sevilla-Buitrago explains, following the model of the English Parliamentary enclosure of the eighteenth century as a spatial regime then replicated worldwide, the purpose of enclosure was:

To erode the difference and normalise territorial regulations so they became readable for both the state and capital—a new apparatus of calculation, simplification, sovereignty and coercion (Sevilla-Buitrago 2015, p.8).

In this new configuration of land as means for sovereignty, for the state, the resisting Araucano was then treated as an 'anomaly'. During the War of Independence (1810-1826), the Chilean state had used the Mapuche as a galvanizing figure to mobilize grassroots resistance against colonial rule, framing it as a brave and noble savage (Pinto 2002, p.329). However, this foundational mythical narrative was then inverted with the

adoption of the positivist European discourse of the uncivilised barbarian that still runs throughout Latin American political elites. In the state's view, the contemporary Mapuche was a degraded version of the historical hero, an enemy of the state and an obstacle for the development of the nation. Race, land and progress became then interconnected in the formation of the postcolonial states. In this process, racial politics against the native population as people without rights was extended to occupation of their lands. In the national ideology, it was the European immigrant who was capable of giving a productive direction to the nation. This was formalized by the Selective immigration law of 1845, followed by its adaptations (Foreign colonization law of 1896 and 1898). All these laws were designed to offer exclusive benefits of access to land and materials for labour in order to colonize the region with European immigrants.

The ensemble between creole and native people during the liminal period, gave way to identities and cultures in flux<sup>97</sup> along the frontier. The social ensemble gave rise to *mestizaje*, or cultural-ethnic miscegenation. This spatial formation was frozen by the colonial matrix of power articulated by the nation-state. Land and races became fixed to one another, redefining the frontier between the emerging state of Chile and the resisting Araucanía as a dividing line between civilization and barbarism. Spatially, state formulations fractured the 'grey zones'<sup>98</sup> (Nahuelpan 2013) such as the colonial frontier and its economic and social exchanges, and formatted an enmity towards the remaining native people; providing justification for the conquest of the territory, suppression and confinement of the alien population and the dispossession of their land.

The 'Pacificación de la Araucanía' (1859-1881) represented the material enactment of this emerging discourse. The military invasion took around two decades and represented the final push of a longer process of land usurpation organised around a bundle of different colonisation methods. These included 'spontaneous colonisation',

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<sup>97</sup> Through commerce, marriage, stealing of women and selling of children – among other violent exchanges.

<sup>98</sup> Nahuelpan's 'grey zones' help us to think of cognitive spaces that can break the binary distinction between urban/rural, modern/traditional, coloniser/colonised. The grey zone is where the 'motley society' can be enacted (Zavaleta Mercado 2009).

administrative appropriation by local governments, bargain sales held by the state, engineering work on the land, and the military conquest. ‘Spontaneous colonisation’ was the process by which colonisers entered the frontier region throughout the nineteenth century taking over land, done through deception and abuse with the complicity of local and military authorities (Correa and Mella 2012, p.40). The administrative appropriation was enacted through legislation by which the frontier region was nominally annexed to the national territory, integrating it into national jurisdiction and legal rules of property. With state regulation the region became available for the land market. The bargain sale system became the administrative leg of the military occupation. The legibility of the land was made possible thanks to the combined work of military advancement and a team of engineers who divided the land and defined it as state or empty land<sup>99</sup> under a national law of 1866. The engineering work was directed at security, communication and market development – the key priorities of the modern state-territory. Notable examples were railway expansion and the construction of a huge viaduct,<sup>100</sup> which were setting stones in the reconfiguration of the national landscape.

As a result, the transformation of the landscape consisted in a large scheme of control of the terrain<sup>101</sup> and an internal scheme of property formation through the incorporation of productive subjects. Spatially the fort system was the most relevant technology and a strategic starting point for the conquest of Araucanía. By 1870, telegraph technology connected the forts, creating a key feature for the material transformation of the terrain. The forts would become foundational stones for the development of their modern cities, a history that results in the Araucanía still being called ‘a frontier region’ today (Klubock 2014, p.9). The other critical element for the modern territory was the formatting of land as property formation. The materialisation of that ownership, however, remains the biggest conflict today.

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<sup>99</sup> Empty land was defined by what Correa and Mella call the ‘old occupation’ (ocupación antigua); i.e. herding animals, wood extraction, fruit harvesting, and the cultural and material practices on the land that permitted the social reproduction of the society (Mella and Correa 2012, p.63).

<sup>100</sup> The Malleco Viaduct crossed the river that until 1890 was the last natural obstacle for the conquest of the autonomous territory.

<sup>101</sup> The use of the concept of terrain (and not land) is because I am focusing on the relation of ‘strategic control’ (Elden 2001, p.801) over the uneven topographies of the region for the establishment of spatial order of people and resources.

## Uneven technologies in competition

In this section I first introduce the contested meanings of land, in the competing political economic projects among hegemonic sectors such as landowners, central state agents and transnational companies. This contestation will expose statecraft as a messy and uncoherent process in which the only defined land relation were the *reducciones* of the Araucanos and the dispossession of their lands. The other non-hegemonic sectors of society, defined as *mestizos* (half-breed), being either labourers, peasants and tenants were yet still contested in their enrolment to land in the colonial spatial disciplinary ordering. It will be under the economic constrains (pressures of material needs of labour and population) and discourses and material enactments of local peoples that these relations to land will be accommodated in the racial disciplinary spatial order.

The boundaries of modern territory are easier to be defined by natural frontiers<sup>102</sup> and the recognition of other bordering states. Chile is a classic example of the coincidence of the use of physical boundaries following natural features: Chile's political core at Santiago – Centre-, Atacama Desert to the North, Andes to the East, frigid land to the South and Pacific Ocean to the West. However, in the interior of the state, the demarcation between private, public and collective property was a contested matter. Araucanía became an uneven space of land competition between landowners, businessmen, national and foreign colonisers, peasants and indigenous people with their *reducciones* of limited territory.

After the conquest, *land as property* became a contested matter. A long list of different and changing laws were set throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as part of efforts to organise the state, consolidate the 'frontier' territory and articulate it with the national territory. The legal system shown to be flexible attempting to adapt to, both, the demands of the central state of increasing the low flow of European

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<sup>102</sup> Frontiers are vast unsettled or underpopulated areas that separate and protect countries from each other. Historically, political centralized powers natural borders for their defensibility (McColl 2005, pp.105-6)

immigration<sup>103</sup>, and the demands of local agents and private interest of land concentration. As such, businessman, landowners and local governments created a competition between different projects of state agents and private interest. While the central state dreamed of transforming ‘Savage Araucanía’ into a ‘Chilean California’ – and become the granary of the world and form a national bourgeoisie class– speculators saw in the incipient land market the possibility to make unproductive profit. Landowners, strongly linked with local governments, also saw an opportunity to expand their *haciendas* contesting the state projection of land distribution among European colonisers. When the state campaign failed to bring in European colonisers directly, the European colonization mission was outsourced, and state owned lands were sold cheaply to European companies. However, the colonization concessionaires also ‘failed’ in their promise to bring in European migrants. However this was a delivered choice. As Klubock points out, these concessionaries ignored their agreement with central states agents of bringing European migrants to incorporate them as part of the productive process – by offering jobs and lands. Their main interest laid in the accumulation of land at almost zero cost to operate as loggers and keep productivity up by employing native population – on lower salaries - and concentrating the land (Klubock 2014, p.75). As a result, several hegemonic processes were in competition, investing in different modes for conceiving land.

On the other hand, different forms of resistance to land concentration, appropriation and dispossession were taking place by diverse subaltern groups. Mapuche people were put in *reducciones* (law of 1866) and forced into an economy of subsistence, also facing a constant threat of invasion and robbery; while national colonisers were not valued for receiving state owned land until after 1900 (National Congress 1912, p.7). Each group, depending on their social positions, articulated different claims to resist, contest or demands enclosures for their benefit. Tenant farmers claimed rights as colonisers

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<sup>103</sup> European colonizers were promised ‘empty’ land; an extra plot for each male son over 10 years old, free transportation to migrate to Chile, construction materials, cows, ox, plough, machines for agricultural activities, monthly pension and two years of medical insurance. (Correa and Mella 2012, p.3)

based on their productivity, while some Mapuche people made claims via legal documents<sup>104</sup> for rights to assert control over their *reducciones*.

The contestation of forest<sup>105</sup> was another point of land resistance. For the displaced groups the forest was a common, for the state it was state-land to be enclosed as natural reserve or give away, while for landowners it was land to be deforested<sup>106</sup> to make land available for agriculture, constituting what Jason Moore calls a new ‘commodity frontier’ (Moore 2000). Following Thomas Klubock’s history of forestry development in the Araucanía (2014) different governing agencies encouraged multiple and contradictory laws to colonize the forest frontier throughout the nineteenth century. Central agencies and executive power wanted to control loggers and landowners from extending their properties by burning forest, which under the scientific governmental approach to forestry, were starting to be seen as a national commodity (Forest Law 1873). Local governments, however tended to favour landowners also supporting their own commercial landed interest in expanding land colonization via forests burning. In 1852 for example Vicente Perez Rosales (representing the colonization agent of the southern region – Valdivia and Llanquihue) set fire all forests near Osorno and Lake Llanquihue to welcome and prepare the land for colonization (62,000 land hectares burned for three month) (Kublock 2014, p.60). Overall, except for Mapuche and peasant population, native forests were seen as an obstacle for development and modern territory. The diversity of species (i.e. a template forest of oak-lingue and laurel – Annex 4) and its difficult access created a colonial notion of forest as an unregulated (savage) space associated with uncivilized Mapuche behaviour. Illustrative is the description by Pissis in the Physical geography of the Chile Republic:

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<sup>104</sup> Mapuche people were given Mercy titles receiving legal status for the collective ownership of the land.

<sup>105</sup> As presented in chapter III Forest started to become a concern for state administrators in the turn of the century, after unrestricted forest burning by landowners became the way in the making of agriculture land and expansion of private property. As a response, State approach to forest management in the region follow a scientific rationale ‘in the assertion of state authority over frontier territory’ (Klubock 2014, p.59) Forest law (year 1873) imposed limits on landowners to cut trees near watershed also giving rights to the executive power to clearing forests on hillsides and in the mountains. Prohibitions were established against burning forest to clear land at the south of the Bio-Bio. In the North of the Bio-Bio permission from the regional governor was required. Public Forest could be leased and logging would be control by provincial intendants (Kublock 2014, p.62).

<sup>106</sup> The years 1887-1910 thus saw 580,000 hectares burned to develop agricultural land – one of the most aggressive and rapid deforestations registered in Latin America before 1980 (Navarro, Henríquez, Cornejo 2005, p.19, from Donoso and Lara 1997).



From the 38° [latitude] there are no cultivated land more than in certain parts, sparse in that immense region of jungles. Where culture is more propagated, the natural meadows occupy the biggest land cover. So, in Chile exists a great extension of land that has not been utilized yet: here lay the future of the county; this will be the country's biggest wealth and the most indisputable. (1875, p.293)

Who had the right to own land changed along the development of the frontier territory and material occupation of the region. For the state- in a first instance- productivity was only viable when it came from European colonisers (Colonization law year 1845). At this point the racialization of space/spatialization of race was based on the idea that only Europeans would have the culture and knowledge to maximise land productivity and engage with the international market<sup>107</sup>. However, given the need of having a stable population to inhabit the region, this principle had to be adapted granting national population the benefits of *colonos* (colonist). As a result, there was a shift in racial categorisation, and therefore in exclusion: first, based on people's literacy in 1908 (colonization law year 1908) and gradually becoming more inclusive, eliminating the literacy condition partly to restrict the exodus of people to Argentina (National Congress 1912, pp.24-31). These contestations showed an elastic notion of state criteria for land ownership, having native dispossession as the only clear parameter (Southern Occupation law, year 1927). Following the racial principles of the *reducciones* as the only clear law in the distribution of land, peasants and *Inquilinos*<sup>108</sup> followed the racial principles of productive land occupation- against the lazy and abandoned lands of the natives. They argued that their right to land was based on productivity (peasants) and the right to own based on material occupation (*inquilinos*).

Meanwhile, local landowners, seeing their status as local elite being eroded, also posed a challenge to the state colonisation premise. Definitions of private and public land and forests were strategically put under question. Landowners clashed with the state which saw forest as its own private property. Finally, the 'collective property'<sup>109</sup> status

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<sup>107</sup> It was also expected that European immigrants had to be from the Catholic faith.

<sup>108</sup> Title given to the role occupied by peasants responsible for the productivity of the landowner, akin to tenant farmer.

<sup>109</sup> Legal status of Mapuche reservations.

of the Mapuche *reducciones* were not regarded as a serious juridical status in the advancement of private landed property relations. Hence, a speculative market was still expanding in the conquered region. Taking advantage of the elastic notion of what the right to private property entail, abuses and fraud became the main method of land dispossession and accumulation by colonisers, landowners (expanding the *latifundia* system), and the state (Klubock 2014, pp.31-39). As political and military Chilean leader Cornelio Saavedra pointed out, writing during the civic-military entry to the Araucanía:

There is no piece of that territory... that has not been sold, mortgaged, ceded freely or willed, and other deceitful dissimulations; with absolute security that most of the contracts are fraudulent...Not being able to give to the industry nor to the colonization this territory we need to maintain indefinitely a numerous army for its conservation to defend the public treasury (1870, p.252)

Clashes over the meaning of land, forest and rights over its uses during the nineteenth century demonstrated the difficulty of imposing capitalist landed property relations guided by the state mode of production. Limited technology was another element for this challenge. Maps were not recognised, understood or technically clear<sup>110</sup>. The Congressional Colonization Commission on their report (1912) explained that by 1874 there was a limited cartographic knowledge (National Congress 1912, p.35) demanding the production of a cadastral map of the region (National Congress 1912, p.50) for the ordering of the landed relations in the Austral region. As the report highlights, the property constitution did not have a unified character: *colonos*, or national occupants, indigenes or colonization concessionaires were subjected to different regularities and conditions. The multiple types of titles, claims for property rights, land auctions, colonization request status, became among some of the multiple modes of land usurpation that needed to be amended (National Congress 1912, p.22). Klubock (2014) registered some of the multiple ways of fraud committed by land speculators and landowners: land acquisitions among or surrounding *reducciones* taking advantage of the lack of clear boundaries or road access in indigenous *reducciones*; fence moving, creating

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<sup>110</sup> Property titles were drawn along natural boundaries and names of neighbouring properties but lacked clarity in terms of exact dimensions.

a confusion of boundaries, accusations of communities trespassing property or theft to then forcing them to leave their land and move their crops. In other cases, native population were not able to settle because landowners 'had purchased pasture at auction' and argued that the indigenous were nomads and not real indigenous from the region (Klubock 2014, p.34-36).

In all the cases of illegal property expansion by landowners, companies and speculators, surveyors were resisted given that their methods of surveyance were ways of fixing property, and by that, eliminating the possibility of this spatial flexibility to expand the enclosures. Ironically, in occasions, surveyors ultimately operated as safeguard tools of the indigenous *reducciones* that were systematically invaded<sup>111</sup>. The strategic use of legal property contestation by landowners and land speculators was especially convenient with indigenous population because, as the colonized 'other', they were not regarded as relevant population to govern and to populate the nation. However, this strategic manipulation of enclosures expansion was viable consistent with technology developments. The fence – something that remains central in the contestation of enclosure – became a key device to materialise and fixed boundaries in space. Following, I treat in detail the development of uneven technologies – bodies, woods, hedges and barbed wire – to look at how these materialities affect the production of land and subjects.

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<sup>111</sup> In the memoirs of the indigenous protectorate it is reported that land surveyors attempting to map indigenous property were expelled and threatened 'at gunpoint' to stop them from measuring the land, since it had been usurped by neighbouring landowners (Klubock 2014, p.35).

## *Reducciones*

*'We live trapped like wheat in a sack'  
(Lonko expressing the situation Tomas Guevara  
at the end of the nineteenth century)<sup>112</sup>*

After the military conquest, land distribution imposed the domination of a hegemonic power through a racial and class marker implicated in a wider set of colonial relations of power. Trapped, the surviving Mapuche people had to accept defeat. By 1883, a set of laws organised the conquest of Araucanía; from 1884-1927 the indigenous were confined to 3000 *reducciones*<sup>113</sup> (Casanueva 2002, p.323).

*Reducciones* comes from the word *reducir* which can mean either 'to suppress' or 'to overcome'. This was the main technology by which the spatial organization of surviving Mapuche populations were enforced during the nineteenth century. They were situated upon a reduced piece of land, forcing them into a sedentary mode of living<sup>114</sup> – in a process of impoverishment and becoming peasant. The military campaign either eliminated the resistance or forced the subordination to the national project, which meant the reduction in space. The *reducciones* were applied simultaneously to the body and to the space. Enclosure is not limited to nature as in the sense of the English agricultural revolution and enclosure of the common land that took place from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries creating a landless labour force. Enclosure in a postcolonial state applies to the peoples living in the land *reduced* in terms of space and their capacity of reproduce their world view. The modes of interacting with the non-human environment, such as forest, mountains and rivers constitute both part of the sacred and non-sacred worldview of Mapuche people. These places were colonised as unoccupied land and put into state hands, for exploitation, sale or as an asset of the state.

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<sup>112</sup> Tomas Guevara was an 'Araucanista' – someone who studies Mapuche civilization- and director of the School in Temuco. Tale registered in Casanueva 2002 (p.324)

<sup>113</sup> From the conquered area of Araucanía the Chilean state just recognised 5% of the territory – 500,000 hectares out of the 9,500,000.

<sup>114</sup> Rights to land were only acquired on proving five years of residence in one place for a group or one year for a single household (Klubock 2014, p.31).

With the implementation of the *reducciones* system, a process of land domestication and social subordination was established. The domestication of the land was more than conquering the terrain; it was a process that continued, through the formation of concepts such as ‘waste land’. In his chapter on Properties, Claude Gay<sup>115</sup> writes,

Before the arrival of the Spanish to Chile the land of this country in a certain way was under the rule of the caciques considered as absolute owners of each particle of the terrain (...) These lands were cultivated by Indians, that could be compared with serfs, paid with land sufficient for their domestic needs and therefore not very large (...). In view of this information it could be said with no fear of mistake, that at the time we are referring to, almost all the land<sup>116</sup> was empty (1862, p.75).

The *reducciones* became the most effective mechanism to dominate Mapuche groups. As Klubock explains, colonisation officials understood that the best way to control Mapuche resistance was through the imposition of borders to land (2004, p.31). The racial politics against the native were particularly directed to the restriction of land access and usage. The making of modern territory was dependent on populating the region with subjects who would have the knowledge to give value to the land: namely, the European immigrant. Mapuche people were forced to live in *reducciones* whose area was calculated based on 6.18 hectares per person. The remaining 9 million hectares of Araucanía were distributed first to European colonisers and later on, to national ones. Mapuche people were grouped into enclaves of agricultural subsistence to eliminate any chance of social organisation, while they were surrounded by landowners and aspiring colonisers. Under these new material conditions the Mapuche were de facto subsistence peasants. While the state was giving conquered land for free and offering special packages<sup>117</sup> to tempt European colonisers, Mapuche people were deliberately impoverished.

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<sup>115</sup> Claude Gay was a French naturalist hired by the State of Chile to make a scientific trip (three and a half years) around the country. He published the first book of Political and Physical Geography of Chile (1842), plus 29 more volumes about flora and fauna, agriculture, geography among other topics (1842 to 1871).

<sup>116</sup> The word used to refer to land is *terreno* that can also be interpreted as ground or area.

<sup>117</sup> The Chilean government established colonisation agencies in Europe to attract European colonisers to Chile to occupy the newly conquered land. An 1847 law gave exclusivity to European and North

Although the Chilean state still controlled land available for distribution, the *reducciones* worked as a disciplinary space in the formation of surplus population (Li 2009; McIntyre and Nast 2011). After the military spared their lives, they were peripherally incorporated as the sovereign other. But the spatial disciplinary management of racialization of Mapuche people was adjusted in everyday practice. Historical studies show that between 1881 and 1907 twenty to thirty thousand Mapuche people died of hunger and epidemics. In 1900, ten thousand monthly meals were given by the state to help the starving population (Casanueva 2002, p.322). Through the post-colonial period, state agencies adopted a biopolitical governance approach to its new European citizens, enhancing their health and wellbeing with land and tools, but moreover the state sustained unequal resources and welfare distribution based on a racialized demarcation of identity. This created a new racist social landscape particularly visible in the countryside. The Mapuche people, as it happened with the formation of most post-colonial state formations, were becoming ‘particularly spatialized, racialized or otherwise stigmatized populations’ (Li 2009, p.78).

The Mapuche were given a space within the national territory by a process structured on the colonial matrix of power, which set up a social and spatial stratification and placed Mapuche men, and especially women, at the bottom. First, the reduction law of 1866 imposed a regulated system of kinship giving rights to that what the agents saw as the leader of the community- sometimes choosing the most docile male subject by colonizers officials. Second under relations of labour dependency and maintenance of servitude relations, the handing over young daughters to landowners in the promise that they would be fed and educated (normally resulting in conditions of domestic slavery) became common practices. This process of ‘internal colonialism’ (Gonzalez Casanova 2006, p.409) was based on ‘specific mechanisms of segregation-exclusion’ and founded on the horizon of a deep and latent structural colonial violence’ (Cusicanqui 2010, p.13). The control of Mapuche people over their lands, after being fixed in *reducciones*, was under constant threat due to speculator’s thirst for land and the legal defenceless under everyday abuses. One of the first practices, under capitalist and

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American colonisers to acquire land with other benefits provided by the state, like social security for example (Klubock 2014 p.40).

racial pressure used to protect their land were ‘human fences’ which I explore in the following subsection.

### *Human Fences*

*Cerco humano* (human fences) is the Mapuche term for a practice of human enactment of the fence. This is a mobile enclosure that is realised in the everyday practice of herding animals and using the land in an extensive way. I learned about this practice in the fieldwork listening to the narratives of the elders in the Coñuequir Panguilef family and *Machi* Francisca Linconao. I corroborated the extension of this practice consulting with historians Martin Correa and Sergio Caniuqueo Huricapan that also knew about this practice.

The colonial impulse legitimated the invasion of the Araucanía, followed by a permanent state of threat of displacement and servitude. The fixation on a limited piece of land represented a colonial wound in the adaptation for Mapuche people in their notion of habitat (and worldview) and their identity. In Klubock words ‘their extensive understanding of territory collided with new laws that required an entirely different relation to land based on settlement and intensive agriculture’ (Klubock 2014, p.31).

However, the land given as a result of the *reducciones* of the Mapuche people gained a new status. Land resistance did not come ‘naturally’ to Mapuche communities, but their defence against state, private and corporate pressures became a constant and structural relation with the nation-state project. Reductional lands became the source for material subsistence and constituted the material basis for new subjectification processes. As a result, for example, Mapuche *reducciones* were used in intensive agriculture, a new economic activity of Mapuche people oriented to land exploitation for commercial goals. As proposed, enclosure is taken as a contested, flexible and fixed boundary technology, sometimes embraced or rejected. Human fences helped materialise what Aravene refers to as the ‘reductional Mapuche society’: the place for

social reconstruction and the symbolic and material political vindication against assimilation and acculturation (2002, p.364).

During my fieldwork in the Araucanía – August to November 2014 and November 2015 to March 2016 – I met the Mapuche family Conequir Panguilef in Trankura Kurarrewé<sup>118</sup>. Through them, I learned about a technology of boundaries that helped in this social and material reconstruction. The *cerco humano* is practice described by Mapuche families<sup>119</sup> as having been used since the post-colonial conquest and formation of the *reducciones*. This was a practice of voluntary enclosure, whereby the limits of land possession was demarked by children herding animals. As during the period of liminal relations, borders were productive spaces. Though enclosed, the territory was not fixed; it was constantly established by everyday practices. Human fences describe flexible boundaries integral in the production of space. The notion of time related with space is different: these are mobile borders in which the space walked upon by children with their animals define the space ‘used’ or ‘owned’ by the community. Each day the extension of the enclosure took on a different dimension, determined by a transhumance<sup>120</sup> approach to land use, taking shape in the activity between animals and people on the land. This is a concept of movement determined by the relation between human and non-human actors. Either because these communities did not have the technology to enclose the land as the colonisers did (with live fences) or because they needed to use (and wanted to claim) more land than that formally given, they found a way to proclaim their control over the land through their cultural and material approach to land practices. Human fences respond to the great adaptability and the dynamic character and historical flexibility in the production of spaces of intermediation over and above the ideological and administrative rigid colonial order and nation-state system.

Human fences apprehended the Western idea of borders while maintaining the premise of flexible movement; in that way the practice resisted the reification and reductions of their land and identities. The practice of human fences appears as an

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<sup>118</sup> Mapuche family in Curarrewé, Cautín province, Araucanía, October 2014.

<sup>119</sup> Oral memory shared by the wife of the Lonko of the community

<sup>120</sup> Long-distance movement of cattle – sheep, goat, cows.



adaptation of a hegemonic technology of spatial discipline that gave been appropriated producing territorial identity and spaces as a distinct society, showing that Mapuche territory, as any other, is in constant production. A more sophisticated and permanent form of enclosure came along with the human fences. Live and dead fences, imported from Europe, also operated as crucial spatial technologies of ordering that are still impacting the region.

### *Live and Dead Fences*

*Mercedes Badilla was a second (generation immigrant); they say she was important.*

*People say she brought the blackberry plant to Chile from the USA,  
and planted it so the Mapuche wouldn't cross the limit.*

*(Don Ismael Navarrete, Comunidad Mapuche Miguel Huentelén, 2014)<sup>121</sup>*

The transformation of 'free' land to rational agricultural production needed implementation through several technologies, ultimately having an effect on the habitat, in the relation to land and the modification of the ecosystem. The process of domestication, homogenisation and rationalisation of social reproduction demanded not just the subjection of people but also the domestication of animals, land and plants. In the conformation of modern agricultural spaces, rural estates needed to be materially demarcated. A novel technology of space production and land domestication imported from Europe in to the region utilised live and dead plants to create agricultural boundaries.

Live and dead fences became key features in the transformation of the landscape and ecology of the region. Harvey et al. define live fences as 'conspicuous features of agricultural landscapes' (2005, p.216). Although their study regarded live fences such as tree plantations in their ecological role of providing habitat, resources and connectivity for wildlife (2005, pp.216-7), other studies focused on specific species such as gorse, brought by European colonisers (Bagge 2014) for hedging and subsequently becoming a biogeographical invasion (Bagge 2014; Muñoz 2009). Other

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<sup>121</sup> Tale registered by Correa doing fieldwork with Community Miguel Huentelén (2014)

accounts of gorse, particularly in urban and peri-urban areas, analyse the plant incorporation as part of an aesthetic transformation of the cultural landscape motivated by colonialists' nostalgia. Looking at live fences in Patagonia Rovere et al. (2013) describe how colonisers trying to reproduce their home landscapes imported exotic species to the colonised regions (Rovere et al., 2013, p.167). As such, gorse was also considered an ornamental plant, which served to homogenize landscape on a global scale (Rovere et al. 2013, p.166).

In Chile, gorse is known as *espinillo*<sup>122</sup>. Technically named *Ulex europaeus*, this plant was introduced during and after European colonisation as live fences to retain stock, form shelterbelts and define property boundaries (Bagge 2014), becoming one of the most pervasive invasive species in the South of Chile and in most ex-colonies<sup>123</sup>. Nowadays it constitutes a material reason for small farmers to sell their land, or put it on production for forestry. After, having no capacity to deal with the elimination of the plant through fire which is a reason for its propagation, the other options are chemical and machinery. Due to a high cost, the land is left unproductive, making it viable to be sold for other land uses other than agriculture.

Around the middle of the nineteenth century in Chile and Argentina fencing was becoming the norm. Use of moats, ditches, wood and other natural resources to create a material delimitation of property was common practice. Conflicts among neighbours for animal theft, or animals feeding on someone else's farm were common, and with the increase in land value, clarity of land division and landed property relations was ever more crucial. Descriptions from the naturalist Claude Gay in one of volumes on the *Chilean Atlas of the Physical and Political history of Chile* (1862) about agriculture, paint a picture of the rural space at the time. He describes vast tracts of land owned by one landowner –animals would get confused between estates resulting in plenty of conflicts. Gay's recommendation was the development of fencing. He expands on the

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<sup>122</sup> Other names include: *pica pica*; *espino alemán*, *yáquil*, *aliaga*, *maticorena*, *corena*, *cachai*, *tejo*, gorse and furze in the UK, New Zealand and USA; *tojo*, *cádava*, *argelaga de bosco*, *ota* in Spain and Portugal, among others.

<sup>123</sup> *Ulex europaeus* is included in the list of the 100 most invasive and aggressive species in the world (Global Invasive Species Database 2013). Historian Martin Correa and Comunidad Mapuche's Miguel Huentelén collected accounts of other species such as blackberry introduced from the United States to stop their community from walking into their 'coloniser' neighbors' private property (2014).

value of fencing not just for large estates but also to be used in farms, cottages and gardens, suggesting different types of fencing depending on the usage of the land (Gay 1862, p.290). Gay distinguishes between live fences (trees, bushes, hedges) or dead ones (sticks, branches, stones, bricks). Among a list of potential species for live fences he recommends ‘ones with spines are best... (to grow them) big plantations are grown in greenhouses’ (Gay 1862, p.290). Muñoz quotes the first written reference about the benefits of gorse from 1847: ‘besides making impenetrable fences it is used in France as fuel to heat ovens and (...) as cattle fodder after it’s been crushed to remove the spines’ (Muñoz 2009, p.28). Hornoy et al. (2013) traced the origin of the *Ulex europaeus* in Central Southern Chile by looking at the genetic structure of the plant. Two different genetic types were found – Spanish and mixed population. Gorse is suspected to have come from several sources: from Spanish colonialists; via English botanist John Miers, reported in the Gay’s flora atlas (1846); and with the arrival of the German colony in the second half of the nineteenth century (Hornoy et al. 2013, p.361). During and post the European colonies in the American continent gorse seeds were even sold and promoted by governments (Hornoy et al. 2013, p.361).

With the expansion of agricultural terrain through the burning of native forest throughout the nineteenth century gorse found a favourable environment. However by 1930, it was already considered a ‘weed’ in the southern region of Valdivia and the island of Chiloé. It was re-categorised as a dominant invasive species throughout the country and a threat to agricultural and forestry industries (Muñoz 2009, p.32). Nowadays this species is one of the main threats to biodiversity, the habitat, the ecosystem, and even affects climate change (Invasive Species Specialist Group 2013). Although it became a huge problem, during the nineteenth century it covered an efficient role as hedging in dry soil, enabling modern enclosure towards the spatial configuration of the nation-state, and private property materialisation in Araucanía.

### *Barbed Wire*

*What I propose comes from the common sense of the farmers of the world.*

*Fence, don't be barbaric!*

*(Argentine President Sarmiento,  
talking to landowners, Buenos Aires, 1855)*

Reviel Netz's *Barbed Wire* (2009) traces the history of this technology as a history of the formation of modern ecology. During the nineteenth century in the United States barbed wire was developed as the most effective technology for the formation of capitalist rural space. Barbed wire was a superior technology to hedges in the context of the development of the world economy and the unification of world markets. It was capable of rapid and cheap mass production compared with live fences captive to a natural cycle. The nature of this technology came to shape rural space itself.

The preparation of land for intensive agriculture transformed the use of fences (Netz 2009, p.23). Instead of just protecting crops, animals and land were now in need of boundaries. The mass use of barbed wire triggered the multiplication of land divisions. As with telegraph technology and the railroad, the control and speed of movement was a market feature. Meaning that the control and production of space in rural postcolonial geographies was becoming a thing of monetized value. Agricultural land was gaining value in itself, and fences were valued as an investment enabling the greater capitalisation of property. For Netz, it was not that live and dead fences were replaced; rather they were complemented to create an exclusive topography of the surface of the earth (2009, pp.29-31) in function of capital and the modern nation-state system:

In combination, such objects can accomplish a task, defined along immensely long lines, and in this way they shape space – railroads and telegraph lines by contacting distant points, and barbed wire by defining lines of limit. This is the material context in which the growth of barbed wire should be placed (2009, p.30)

Another characteristic of land division and domestication was violence. Interestingly the double-sided barbs in the wire produced the notion of an irreducible transformation:

The topology does not distinguish “inside” from “outside” – violence is projected in both ways. In a very real way barbed wire is contagious: by enclosing a space it is thereby automatically present in all areas bordering on that space (2009, p.35)

The fence became a constant feature of the landscape. People, animals, land and nature were either fenced in or out, and no space remained that had no boundary. The industrialisation of barbed wire accompanied the colonial expansion of the Argentine and Chilean state territories into Patagonia and Araucanía. In a simultaneous process of land valorisation, state agents and landowners were enclosing land in large and small schemes as modern territory and private property respectively. A rudimentary colonial economy was being transformed by the rationalisation and legible formation of space, opening the doors to technologies already developed in the Great Plains<sup>124</sup>. Netz notes two new features in place during this new phase of colonisation, in terms of space, ‘an entire landmass was to be exploited (and not merely some selected points on it) [and in terms of time] the colonization was to take place very rapidly’ (2009, p.1).

For landowners in South America, public debates over the usage of barbed wire looked at its inefficiencies: difficulties in finding the gate at night, wasted time of ‘entering’ and ‘leaving’ the ranch, the need for passage of troops in their activities against *malones*,<sup>125</sup> the cost of the wire and difficulties of the *gaucho* in accepting changing ways of dealing with cattle (Sbarra 1964 p.45). Traditional landowners saw barbed wire as inefficient and irrational for the local context. Against this notion, mass fencing, for Argentinian central state, was a symbol of modernization. To have a modern landscape it was necessary to follow the examples of the new economic empires and have a new rural landscape. Moreover, in the postcolonial context, barbed wire also represented a technology for the materialization of the positivist and enlightenment European discourse. With the wire expanded all over the rural spatiality of the Patagonia, a rational disposition of land and civil spatial ordering would define modern state territoriality.

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<sup>124</sup> In 1883 (just three years after the ‘Campaign to the Desert’) industrial refrigerators were developed in Argentina, against the monopoly of American and English companies.

<sup>125</sup> *Malones de indios* is the name of a military tactic used by indigenous people in the southern regions of Argentina and Chile.

Argentine president Domingo Faustino Sarmiento<sup>126</sup> famously asked landowners who were following the system of open fences, 'What I propose comes from the common sense of the farmers of the world. Fence, don't be barbaric!' (Sbarra 1964, p.58). In *The History of Barbed Wire in Argentina*, Noel Sbarra explains that barbarism in space represents indolence and disorder; its antithesis was the civilised option seen as representing productivity and progress (1964, p.58). By 1900 barbed wire defined the Pampas: 'It was estimated that by 1907, barbed wire in Argentina was already sufficient to surround the perimeter of the republic 140 times' (Netz 2004, p.40). This topographical transformation had an effect on the way people related to land, creating new practices and eliminating others. As Netz suggests, a new topography creates a new ecology (2004, p.43). Thus local rural traditional practices and subjects had to disappear. The gaucho – a character seen by Sarmiento as an uncivilised subject – was losing his purpose. With the wire in place, there was no need for rodeo to separate animals from different owners, nocturnal visits to keep the animals together and boleadas,<sup>127</sup> among other practices. Sbarra describes 'the pampas were domesticated: the unlimited plains became enclosed in the shiny jail of the fences' (1964, p.104).

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<sup>126</sup> Seventh president of Argentina (1868 to 1874).

<sup>127</sup> Gaucho hunting game in the Pampas in which ostriches were enclosed in a human circle and then attacked with *boleas* (similar to slings).

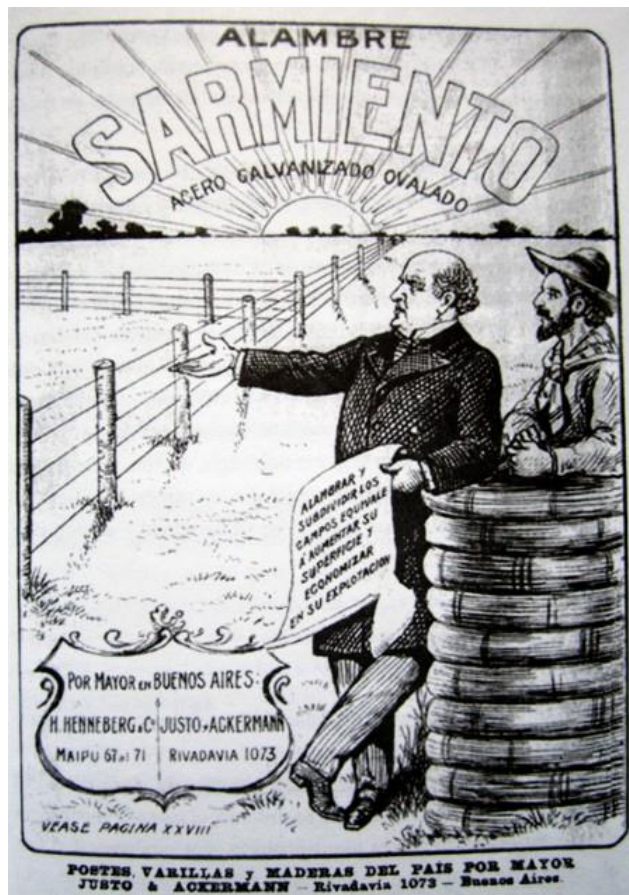


Figure 8 'Sarmiento' Barbed Wire brand publicity

Source: Sbarra 1964

Note: Publicity featuring Argentine president Sarmiento (1868-74) 'Sarmiento' barbed wire brand 'Fencing and subdividing the fields is equatable to augment its surface and economize in its exploitation'

The mass use of barbed wire in the New World unleashed a qualitative transformation of enclosure practices to the point at which they were imported back to the colonial centres. The development of barbed wire around the world started in the United States during the nineteenth century to protect extensive agricultural terrain from animals, and to establish landholdings. As explained, the post-colonial state's expansion of territory was focused not just on trade but on land-centred forms of colonialism. Barbed wire became a technology for war and agriculture. Nineteenth century capitalism 'needed to bring space under control (...) [it] was already based on the need for mass markets and mass products and therefore needed to have control on a vast

scale' (Netz 2009, p.51). Becoming truly global, barbed wire arrived to England for consumption as well. By 1900 the country was transformed, creating 'a buffer zone between the polite urban world, where animals were seen more and more as nothing more than meat, and a violent rural world' (Netz 2004, p.47).

Although the enclosure of the commons (in terms of parliamentary acts) became a breaking point in the establishment of private property and the 'dismantling [of] the pre-capitalist legal and socio-spatial framework of the countryside' (Sevilla-Buitrago 2012, p.212), the arrival of barbed wire came to the centre of the capitalist world-system last. While live fences were imported to the colonies and the nation-states of the New World, barbed wire inverted the direction gaining currency in the post-colonies to be later exported back to the hegemonic capitalist centres and empires. The violence of war and agricultural formation using the technology of barbed wire did not gain the same ubiquity in hegemonic countries as in their colonies. The globalisation of the rural world through barbed wire operated as a violent disciplinary tool for land, ecology and people that the Old World did not want to see in their own lands. But with globalisation barbed wire 'returned to reshape old, established agriculture' (Netz 2009, p.44) and acquire domestic consumption as well.

While the fencing of the world in Netz's study focused on modern cow ecology, indigenous people were the first subjects requiring enclosure. Parallel processes took place in South and North America. While in the United States the bison (the main economy of the natives) was being exhausted, in the Patagonia feral animals were disappearing. With the arrival of colonialists and their technologies, the exhaustion of the indigenous economy, and the expansion of the world market, relations to space on the Great Plains were inverted:

Instead of Euro-Americans being confined to points on the surface, the Indians were to be reduced to their points – the reservations – the entire surface now becoming European (Netz 2009, p.9).



Moreover, in a parallel process, with reservations and fencing, both indigenous people and animals respectively were disciplined and domesticated in an attempt to make both into passive members.

## Ecological Enclosure

*‘Those who decide to “resist” in their lands end up  
practically “enclosed” by the forestry belt’  
(Historian Martín Correa 2014)*

I coin the term ‘Ecological Enclosure’ to refer to a new regime of spatial disciplinary ordering guided by globalized capitalism through the insertion of industrial extractivism in the Rural South. While barbed wire is not discarded as a fencing technology, the notion of ecological enclosure is useful for exploring the role of forestry plantations also operating as a fencing technology disciplining the topography of the rural space.

Entrance into the global market via neoliberal restructuring of the economy and an oppressive dictatorship (1973-1990) created conditions for a new regime of spatial transformation. This impacted on the resisting Mapuche population who had not migrated after their collective properties (*reducciones*) were completely divided and formatted as private property in 1979<sup>128</sup>. The central-southern region became a centre for timber production developing a process ‘ecological enclosure’, in the making of the same plantation (the commodity) the technology of enclosure. In the context of a new global geography of resource extraction this form of enclosure operates by enhancing life and productivity for the ensemble of population and territory off-shore

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<sup>128</sup> Decree No. 2568. The law established that if one member demanded the land could be split and collective property abolished. After that, 1335 indigenous reserves then self-divided into small properties. In a detailed account Calbucura explains the 52 years of legislative procedures that enforced the abolition of the system of collective property in Chile for the Mapuche people. The elimination of collective property also affected the rights of people to define themselves as Mapuche – another disciplinary measure to eliminate the diversity of the Chilean population. For more, search for Calbucura’s article at Wallmapu.nl.

(Li 2009, p.75-76); while land is treated as commodity and the local population as 'excess'.

The conversion of the land of Araucanía into modern territory within the framework of the nation-state system, establishing private property for mainly agricultural activity, was achieved by technologies framed in a regime of geopolitical enclosure (as listed in the previous sections with the application of several spatial technologies) and enforced by governmental control mechanisms. The current form of enclosure, however, takes place within the context of global land grabbing and extractive economies affecting the boundaries of previous enclosures and in the formation of corporate spaces. Simultaneously, as developed in Chapter III, the expansion of forestry activity is cornering rural communities, that become isolated and 'fenced off' by tree plantations. This new mode of spatial stagnation forces people to either sell their land (if they have any), migrate or resist. For Mapuche communities forestry expansion also impacts on their coexistence with nature. The expansion of the new regime of enclosure further affects people's cultural reproduction and knowledge: materials for traditional medicine disappear and sacred spaces are inaccessible, among other practices with land that are no longer possible. With the increase of out-migration, families break apart, with elderly people remaining alone in the countryside. Furthermore, the body is also affected. Health and alimentation is put in danger by water contamination, land desertification, and allotment destruction with pesticide irrigation from the air (Correa 2012, p.6).

As developed in *land as patrimony*, the spatial distribution of these agro-industrial corporate spaces has an enclave effect on the populations remaining in those spaces. In such cases there is an inversion: living surrounded by nature becomes living *enclosed* by nature. This is a form of enclosure transcending formal border markers. Although the land enclosed for the purpose of this activity is formally demarcated by barbed wire, the extension of its residual activity branches out like a river network and expands like an oil stain. It is a form of living enclosure defined by the effects of the type of production occurring on that land. While the timber industry and its global beneficiaries take advantage of the unpaid nature and ecological surplus, for the local is all 'negative value' (Moore 2015, p.1). As presented in Chapter III, from mining to

forestry and soy plantations, the biodiversity that makes the land into a source of life begins to die, causing it to dry out and become toxic and poisoned. Land becomes an artificial composite organism designed for production maximisation. Practices of enclosure and control organised in the interests of corporations are prioritised over other social spatial forms that have characterised an already racialized and uneven rural life. The notion of bounded territory is undermined by the creation of enclaves of extraction that fragment the territory.

Until this new process of ecological enclosure started to permeate the land, forms of geopolitical enclosure were entangled with pre-capitalist (feudal/semi-feudal) practices of land usage and accessibility to property. While these practices still have place in Araucanía, there is a new overlapping between a geopolitical and ecological enclosure in which inclusion and exclusion are more strongly demarcated by new violent disciplinary technologies. I present the ecological enclosure as a new regime in the remaking of landed relations, sharpening social divisions that has further increased spatialized and racialized spatial relations. This regime does not represent a break from coloniality but it does force to a new ensemble between the two. The expansion and intensification of capitalism in rural spaces demands a more meticulous exploitation of land affecting the calibration between fixes and dispossessions.

This new regime of ecological enclosure dislodges the political role of land as ‘both the site and stake of struggle’ (Elden 2010a, p.806), affecting the hegemonic configuration of state space. The dialectic dynamic between race, land and people, is transfigured in the modern-colonial countryside. In the remaking of property (as patrimony) for corporate extractive industries, the land is taken, but not to place new populations<sup>129</sup> as labour;<sup>130</sup> rather to erase from it any human presence and activity. Local social conditions are not just alienated, but the material conditions for such

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<sup>129</sup> Characteristic of the colonial and post-colonial period in the making of the New World was the inflow of labour, particularly African black slaves. More than 50% of the population who migrated to the New World from the 15th century to the end of the 18th century were slaves (Sokoloff and Engerman 2000).

<sup>130</sup> Some industries require a small amount of highly skilled labour. Normally this labour is hired from outside the communities and found in the centers of capital. Other types of labour and land disconnections are presented by Li in which off-shore agents of enclosure brought their own populations to work, e.g. Chinese labour in Canadian land-grabbed sites for mining (Li 2009, p.76).

relations to be possible are eliminated. The change of regime more than calling attention to a break in colonial power relations is a challenge to nation-state paradigm. The makings of ecological enclosure – its expansion and ecological effects – transcend the limits of private property relations and the systems of legality that sustain it. Thus, affecting the way the state can regulate capitalist development in space. The absolute abstraction of property is a qualitative change affecting the governmental mechanism for the normalization of capitalist territorialisation. The ecological enclosure establishes a new ontology of land that eliminates the role of land as a social space, as a provider of the quotidian and an environmental regulator.

The new dialectics between marginal lands and racialized people, in the ensemble of a new sedimentation of the colonial geography of the countryside, makes land exclusively configured in the interest of the global market. Following María Laura Silveira's argument in 'Global Corporate Territories' land is exploited in a way that eliminates other topography, wiping out any possibility of coexistence with other forms of social relations (2007, p.20). Following Durkheim's argument in *The Division of Labour in Society* (1984) this is a form of landed activity that promotes no type of solidarity, neither 'organic' nor 'mechanic'. Local populations are even treated as potential threats to plantations. Shepherding or collecting wood are some of the recognised practices associated with access and usage of common goods in rural spaces. These practices along with many others are now restricted, producing a different understanding of the enclosure and control of the land owned by industrial extractive companies. As argued in Chapter III, the exclusivity of *land as patrimony* is achieved by normalising new practices associated with enclosure such as military repression and political criminalisation of resistance when it arises. Continuing a history of coloniality, terrorism and counterterrorism rhetoric may be new, but the oppression is not.

In the Chilean return to democracy in 1990, unions were completely dismantled while indigenous communities, by contrast, were reinvigorated. Thus it was the Mapuche communities who maintained and reinforced a militant confrontation to forestry corporations (Klubock 2014, p.278). With the recovery of democracy various groups arose, basing their claim for land on MT and ancestral attachment to land (TI). These

communal movements and emerging political organizations represents the most radical challenge yet to the state and corporate land acquisition. Confrontation against forestry plantations for Mapuche rural communities embodies multilayer of colonial enclosures that are still displacing Mapuche and non-mapuche rural population. As it happened with barbed wire, this new disciplined ecology is attempting to create a new topography empty of any social existence.

## Conclusion

*Mother, old Mapuche lady, exiled from history  
Daughter of my loveable people  
From the south you came to birth us  
An electric circuit sliced your stomach  
And we were born screaming to the poor  
Marri chi weu<sup>131</sup>!!!!  
In lactating language  
(From 'Mapurbe' by Mapuche poet David Aninir)*

As Li analyses, looking at the palm oil industry in Java, there is a profound disconnection between labour and land – and, I would add, in dwelling. A more lethal dynamic takes over, ‘in which places (or their resources) are useful, but the people are not, so that dispossession is detached from any prospect of labour absorption’ (Li 2009, p.9). Rural populations become irrelevant for extractive industries and to capital at any scale.

As presented in the last section of this chapter, this thesis argues that this dynamic should be taken as a new regime of enclosure rather than merely a new technology of discipline and displacement. The *reducciones* of Araucanía, as in every part of the Global South, were created for subaltern populations as the last resource for surviving populations. Depending on the historical course of each locality, it was used as either a hiding spot from capitalist relations or the only means to join the national capitalist project and assimilate. Now these same lands and its surroundings constitute the new resources for the capitalist ‘spatial fix’ in search of marginal, abandoned, underexploited land. Under the new calibration of the advancement of racialization of space/space racialization, the conditional inclusion does not depend on putting local people at work, rather rural people are forced to join the global surplus population and migrate to marginal urban centres.

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<sup>131</sup> ‘Marri chi weu’ means ‘10 times we will overcome’ in Mapuzundung, the Mapuche language.

Until the recent expansion of global land grabbing, there was a coincidence in the racial marking of lands and bodies (McIntyre and Nast 2011, p.1471). The argument goes around the idea that

Colonization and imperialism worked from the outset through *racially* ontologized hierarchies of space, which permitted the hyper-exploitation of certain (colorized) bodies and lands, but not others (McIntyre and Nast 2011, p.1466).

However, under the predatory capitalist ecological re-enclosure of peripheral lands, the dialectic between land, race and people is then dismantled by dispossessing people but keeping their lands.

The violent dislodging of the racialized enclosures by the mere functioning of the extractive industries, however, has been resisted by Mapuche communities. The land given to them as losers in war in a geographical process of uneven marking of land and peoples, has now been re-appropriated by this allegedly surplus population resisting their displacement. Despite forceful enclosure assisted by military, political and legal means, in the historical making of people, things and places, land has gained a political ontological status for Mapuche communities. The relationship of land and people unfolds, leading 'to the disempowering of place embedded in globalocentric thinking' (Escobar 2008, p.290). Resistance to this process, however, offers a different valorisation of land itself and its relations with humans and the natural world. The possibility of bringing land to life or as Mario Blaser calls it, a '(re) animated world' (2012, p.3), opens up possibilities for new forms of resistant enclosures. The final chapter will develop the different forms of resistant enclosures taking place in the region.

# **Chapter V: Mapuche Land Practices: Resistance, complicity and identity in the Modern-Colonial Countryside**

## **Introduction**

The length of barbed wire sold between years 2002-2015 just by one company in the region of the Araucanía can cover the circumference of Chile (4270km long with an average width of 175km) thirty-one times.<sup>132</sup> The continual use of fences<sup>133</sup> over the countryside is normally associated with the privatisation of land, land grabbing and statecraft. The development of enclosure mechanisms in postcolonial states, particularly in the case of the Araucanía, however, is evolving in multiple directions. While the plantation of exotic trees functions as a new technology for enclosing and dispossessing rural communities, expanding the frontiers of extractive capitalism as explored in Chapter IV, legal means and forceful occupations are also used by indigenous communities as a form of self-enclosure and protection of livelihood, resources and dwelling space in the countryside. Moreover, this is a trend that can be seen across the Global South- Brazil, Paraguay, Argentina, and Chile – to mention some. In the context of the celebration of 500 years since the ‘discovery of America,’ an indigenous resistance movement gained space in the whole region as a political actor in the claim for land beyond the demand for property or labour. As a result, the restructuring of the countryside is affected from above, by extractive capitalism, and from below, from indigenous communities claiming their right to ancestral land.

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<sup>132</sup> Based on the records (Annex 3) of one of the largest company operating in the region their sales from 2002-2015 amounted for 275,313km of barbed wire. Chile’s perimeter following the average measurements is around 8894km. As a result, with all the barbed wire sold in those years Chile’s entire circumference could be covered by thirty one times

<sup>133</sup> Look at Annex 3



This chapter analyses land enclosure from the perspective of resistance by looking at instances of entanglement between resisting rural indigenous communities, forestry corporations, and governmental practices. It is my argument that land as property in political and economic theory has occluded other more complex relations to land, moreover the discourse over property system as a set stone spatial order has been shaken by the emergence of new land relations. As developed in Chapter III, the flows of global private and public governance mechanisms have affected dynamics over territorial struggle and particularly indigenous community claiming, making of the rural of the Global South under radical transformation. As a result, I argue that three main spatial ordering mechanisms emerged in the entanglement between forestry corporations, Mapuche communities, and state agencies, all under the rubric of the ancestral, validating, each in their own system of truth, a historical attachment to land. Following a series of instances of spatial negotiations among the aforementioned actors, I present three typologies of resistant enclosure, describing tacit, verbal, and legal agreements between communities with forestry corporations and state agencies. These new enclosure will show the new modes of land contestation changing the landscape of the Rural South.

Following Lefebvre's progressive-regressive method, this chapter presents the typology of contemporary land struggle, describing the new assemblages of modern-colonial relations in the conformation of the rural landscape of the Global South. I draw on interview material and participant and non-participant observations during my fieldwork in the Araucanía to introduce, through the development of different types of enclosure, access to land from a resistant perspective that considers the bond to land as a political basis for the collective identity (TI). Keeping in mind a dialectic approach to land relations, along the thesis I have developed three conceptual relations of land: *Land as Property*, *land as patrimony*, and *land as territory* (in chapter I and chapter III respectively). *Land as property* was introduced as a racialized spatial ordering of people and things; *land as patrimony* as an exclusive and excluding profit site; and *land as territory* as an identity political collective articulation. These three ideal types of enclosure were introduced as forms attempting to delineate social relations in space. Technologies of land enclosure are used here as modes of social subjection but also as sites of power contestation. In this malleable capacity I put these three archetypical

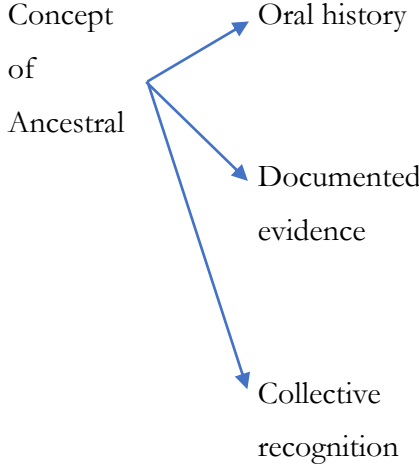
forms of land enclosures and their apparatus and mechanism in movement. I explore the emergence of these motley spaces in the amalgamation and negotiation of the incorporation of ancestral land claims. The following cases will show the unstable relation between co-optation and resistance in these spatial agreements in the development of different discourses and material enactments. The contemporary forms of colonial spatial regulation result in an uneven ensemble between centre and periphery where racialized enclosure is gaining space and moulding the new geometries of power of the Global Rural South in the development of a new global economy of alterity.

I return here to the central questions of this thesis on how the new modes of accumulation in the countryside are affecting landed relations at multiple scales and how race accommodates in these new dispositions between capital and land? To answer these questions, this chapter presents five case studies. Section I introduces the patrimonial approach to ancestral land claims; section II, presents three case studies showing the property approach to ancestral land conflict; and section III, develops a case for the production of territory under the ancestral premise. The expansion of extractive capitalism in peripheral rural lands reveals that the racial dimension in landed conflicts rather than disappeared has invigorated the most relevant political movement in the region in the twenty first century. The following cases will show how spatial ordering is transformed under the changing patterns of capitalist accumulation influenced by a new extractive global integration in the development of modern-colonial countryside.

## Land Access Resistance Typology

What in Western spatial disciplinary ordering has been defined as the ‘rural’, historically identified as a site to provide natural resources (Woods 2011, p.1), for indigenous communities and local people the rural represents that site of metabolic and mutually constitutive relations with the non-human. For resisting communities, the ‘power of land’ (as outlined in chapter II) as the source for situated knowledge and subjectivity formation, offer a different path to understand landed relations by enrolling land beyond its commodity form and the hegemonic disposition for competitive social relations. The Araucanía, in this case, represent a locality that symbolize a material bond founded in everyday subsistence practices and historical social relations. As I argued in Chapter III, this relation to land resembles a sense of sovereignty explained by a grounded historical path that defies modern abstract notions of the imagination of the national territory. The novel forms in which coloniality and resistance intersect in the modern-colonial countryside are explored in the following experiences of resisting communities, corporate and state governance practices. As Woods proposes looking at the global countryside, rather than being a top down process of imposing a form of landed relations, these experiences, even though marginal, can offer a more nuance landscape of other ways of making sense of the world (2007, p.497). This chapter explores the new calibrations in the racialized enclosures between modern and colonial landed relation.

Table 2 *Typology of ancestral land resistance in the Araucanía*

| Typologies of Ancestral Land Resistance |   |                 |  |
|---|---|-----------------|--|
| Stakeholder of Land control             | Discourses of the concept of the Ancestral  | Enclosures form | Material Enactments of access  |
| 1) Corporations                         |  <p>Concept of Ancestral</p> <p>Oral history</p> <p>Documented evidence</p> <p>Collective recognition</p> | Patrimony       | Access as ceremonial practice, differential use                              |
| 2) State Agencies                       |   | Property        | Access as positive right. Ownership of land (subsoil still belongs to state) |
| 3) Ancestral communities                |   | Territory       | Access as autonomy sovereignty of land.                                      |

Source: made by the author

Table 2, ‘Typologies of Ancestral Land Resistance’ shows the articulation between stakeholders, incorporating ‘the ancestral’ to their enclosures. Gaining access to the enclosures through the notion of the ancestral to each one of these representations of land will energise a series of practices and production of meaning from which governing bodies and communities negotiate and perform.

Explained through the different kind of practices and meanings assigned to those resistant enclosures, the chapter is organized following Table 2. 1) Explores forestry corporations through their interest in conquest the international credentials (FSC)

embark on productive relationships with Mapuche groups by negotiating access to their patrimony in cases of ancestral demand by neighbouring Mapuche communities. 2) The indigenous Development state agency (CONADI) promotes a paternalistic relationship with indigenous communities by buying land as property on behalf of the community when ancestral land claims are proven as 'legitimate'. 3) Finally, autonomist Mapuche groups claiming sovereignty from their ancestral territory, take advantage of forestry corporations in their need of acquiring the FSC certificate and occupy their patrimony. The communities, knowing that corporations have to avoid juridical and direct confrontation with their ethnic neighbours, occupy plots of land owned by forestry companies but without engaging in formal claims of land to neither state nor corporate agents. In the ensemble between Mapuche communities, governing bodies, and land, three distinct strategies for access to land are put into synchrony. Gaining validation around a notion of the ancestral, will become the crucial element for the ensemble with other stakeholders in the production of these resistant enclosures.

## Section I: Access to Patrimony

The notion of *land as patrimony* explains a form of sovereignty over resources, which establishes an expanding corporate space with its own rulings. This is as a relation to land developed by the finance/resource-processing conglomerate in which land is disposed as exclusive and excluding. As presented in *Land as patrimony*, the violent history and scale of the land under control by corporations could not escape being the target of power for corporations in postcolonial settings. As a result, other arrangements needed to be put in place to allow for its governance in a global setting. Forestry Patrimony, in the last nine years started to abandon sovereign state practices of governance to entangle with global private governance alternatives hoping to decrease the number of judicial cases, squatting, arson of patrimony and other incidents. In 2012 reported incidents of violence reached a peak of 309. Since then the cases decreased to 250 in 2013 and 159 in the first third parts of 2014 (Annex 1)<sup>134</sup>.

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<sup>134</sup> Since 2008 until the third trimester of 2014 the average number of violent incidents in the region of the Araucanía reported at the public prosecutor have been around 169. It is important to clarify that

The new corporate policy of ‘good neighbours’ includes a package of activities that are oriented to the caring of neighbours and conflict avoidance that is rewarded with plantation certifications, thus opening doors to a prime global market while locally humanising the image of corporate patrimony.

In this section I explore access to *land as patrimony* (case 1 of the table) showing communal articulation with forestry corporations over plots of land owned by forestry companies. These companies while they are the official ‘owners’ of the land, are under pressure over communal ancestral land rights claims. Following this, I will present the case of Arauco dealing with the Antonio Leviqueo community in the realization of their new governance method for conflict resolution. Through this case I will introduce the dynamics and dilemmas of corporate land disciplinary ordering and communal ancestral claims. I will argue that these new ‘neighbour relations’ can only be measured by case to case basis. Being a malleable and non-regulated process, each corporation as well as each community—depending on opportunities and constraints—will resolve a different arrangement. In the absence of a ‘national’ body, the rule of patrimonial lands responds to each corporation interest and needs. Likewise, and based on each community pressure capacity and needs, they will be able to negotiate or not the conditions to pacify their demands.

## Private corporate governance

The new private approach in resolving land demands disentangles the notion of access and usage from the one of dominion and ownership over the land. This means that gaining access for use does not mean a change of hand in the control over the land. Some forestry corporations (such as Arauco and Bosques Cautin) are applying a new method of land conflict resolution guided by the premise of recognising a spiritual attachment to land. For these corporations this means that if the relation of the communities is an ecological and spiritual one, ownership does not need to be a point of contention. For forestry corporations the disentanglement between access and ownership of land would rest on communities’ commitment to their own disentanglement between spiritual attachment and material dependency. This means

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this report does not distinguish by cause nor origin or type of incident presuming that all incidents are coming from Mapuche groups.

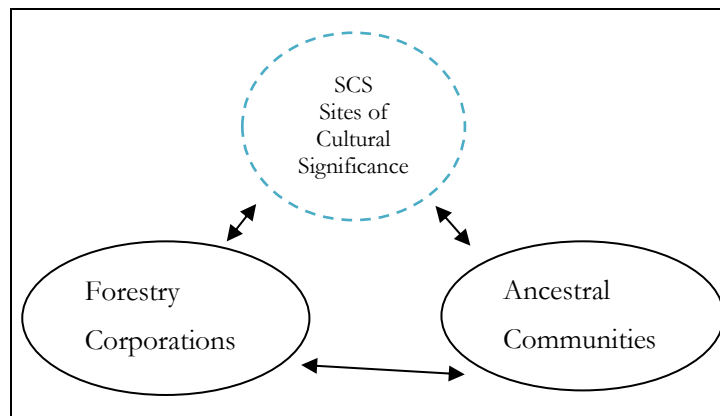
that corporations would be willing to give access as long as the only demand from the communities will be the one of access for spiritual activities but not a commercial or productive exploitation of the land.

In my conversations with various community representatives in the Araucanía, Mapuche activists and academics, Mapuche forestry engineers and Arauco and Bosques Cautín engineers, it was clear that this new approach to land conflicts has created new dilemmas. For some, this approach has instigated further a competitive relation between communities. Becoming reigned by a practice of ‘differentiated accesses’, neighbouring communities contesting forestry patrimony rather than unite, compete with each other to gain access to the forestry patrimony. Under this new paradigm of differential racialisation, communities are put under renewed scrutiny. The criteria is defined by probing a relation to those lands of historical attachment and a spiritual (non-material) valorisation of the land. For communities, access to land just for specific activities is variously understood among communities between a new form of coercion and as a new strategy in the struggle for land. In this tension, some communities accommodate to this new form of disciplinary spatial ordering and settle using the land in the terms proposed by corporations as sites of exclusive spiritual use. Yet meanwhile they assert in their discourse that these accesses serve the larger objective in the struggle for territory.

After a long list of contacts acted on my behalf<sup>135</sup>, ARAUCO Forestry Corporation invited me to visit their first successful case of their new program of investment and social integration, ‘*Nuevo Horcones*’. This is the case of ‘Antonio Leviqueo’ community and Arauco Forestry Corporation in the Elicura Valley. Access to Treng Treng Chico (name of the hill) and Paliwe site are narrated by the community Antonio Leviqueo as a means of resistance and a small step of the recovery of territory. The visit was arranged with a female psychologist and her engineer colleague– both responsible for community issues- (Katherine and Vanessa) in charge of their ‘good neighbours’ practices and conflict resolution with neighbouring communities.

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<sup>135</sup> Part of my network of contacts put me in touch with Arauco to get access for an interview. After this first point of contact I gain access to visit their premises and learn about their ‘Horcones program’



*Figure 9 Areas de Alto Valor Cultural -Sites of Cultural Significance (SCS)*

*Source: made by the author*

The diagram shows the integration between forestry corporations and ancestral communities by the creation of ‘Sites of Cultural Significance’ (SCS). These are limited enclosures of land- of around 1-10hcts- to communities with ancestral claims over their patrimony. The SCS become the model promoted by Arauco Forestry as part of their new integrative program. This strategy connects global and local goals: by improving their relations with indigenous communities on a local level, corporations can further integrate to the global market by gaining access to prime economies by acquiring the certificate of the Forestry Stewardship Council (FSC) that assures that the wood, paper or product coming from Arauco has complied with international standards of responsible management of forests.

### *FSC - Arauco and Post-colonial Resettlement Communities*

The global certifications agency FSC establishes a normative guidance for the regime of global private governance of rule for forestry patrimony. Arauco decided to create the SCS to comply with the FSC requisites<sup>136</sup>. As by March 2016, there were identified 69 sites of ‘cultural significance’ as part of their commitment to the principles of the

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<sup>136</sup> The FSC have 10 basic criteria that must be approved in each country in order to operate as a certificate. These principles and criterias consider legal, ecological and environmental, labour, cultural and native people. For details look at FSC. org



FSC. These are places in which a historical and spiritual connection to a specific community is recognised by Arauco Forestry Corporation, the legal owner of the land. The system of land access started three years ago, and the Elicura Valley was presented to me as an example of good practice. With that recognition, a formal agreement is established by which a community gains exclusive access to the patrimony to use it for religious, ceremonial and traditional activities. In this scheme communities are given with the opportunity to define where the ceremonial and ritual sites should be located; Arauco provides them with resources to recover the sites in ‘the traditional way’<sup>137</sup> and as an exchange the community commits to Arauco to access to the assigned site exclusively for ceremonial, spiritual and traditional practices.

### *Antonio Leviqueo community*

The Antonio Leviqueo community is located in the Elicura Valley<sup>138</sup>. CONADI bought 155.5 hectares of land to the community in 1997<sup>139</sup> following the rules of the Art.20B. However, Antonio Leviqueo and other communities in the region were still claiming a right to an extended strip of ancestral land not recognized by the state. Following the testimonies of members of the community, with the expansion of Arauco and Mininco Corporation over the area, the degradation of rural livelihood increased, the estuaries died, and the toxic uses over the tree plantation contaminated lands and waters. The landscape was also affected: sacred hills were inaccessible affecting the *nwen* (energy-spirit) of the area. Around the year 2006 Antonio Leviqueo community started a process of resistance against Arauco. Their last action, the illegal occupation of the hill, mobilised Arauco to apply their new design of conflict resolution in finding common ground for a negotiated process.

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<sup>137</sup> Communities take the lead in landscape planning, they decide which plants, trees, vegetation, etc. need to be planted; walking paths, access and other elements of the site are also defined by the communities. These decisions are based on an ancestral knowledge of the sites and the expectations on reproducing the ancestral landscape.

<sup>138</sup> The valley is surrounded by the river basin of the Calebu River and the Elicura River, both flowing into Lanalhue Lake as part of the Contulmo commune (VIII region – Bio Bio, Chile). The Valley has 1800 inhabitants of which 60% are of Mapuche origin

<sup>139</sup> Based on the records of the CONADI each hectare of the land purchased costed 2373 US dollars. The plots of land bought were the individual property deed: Miranda, Las Ochenta y Cailin

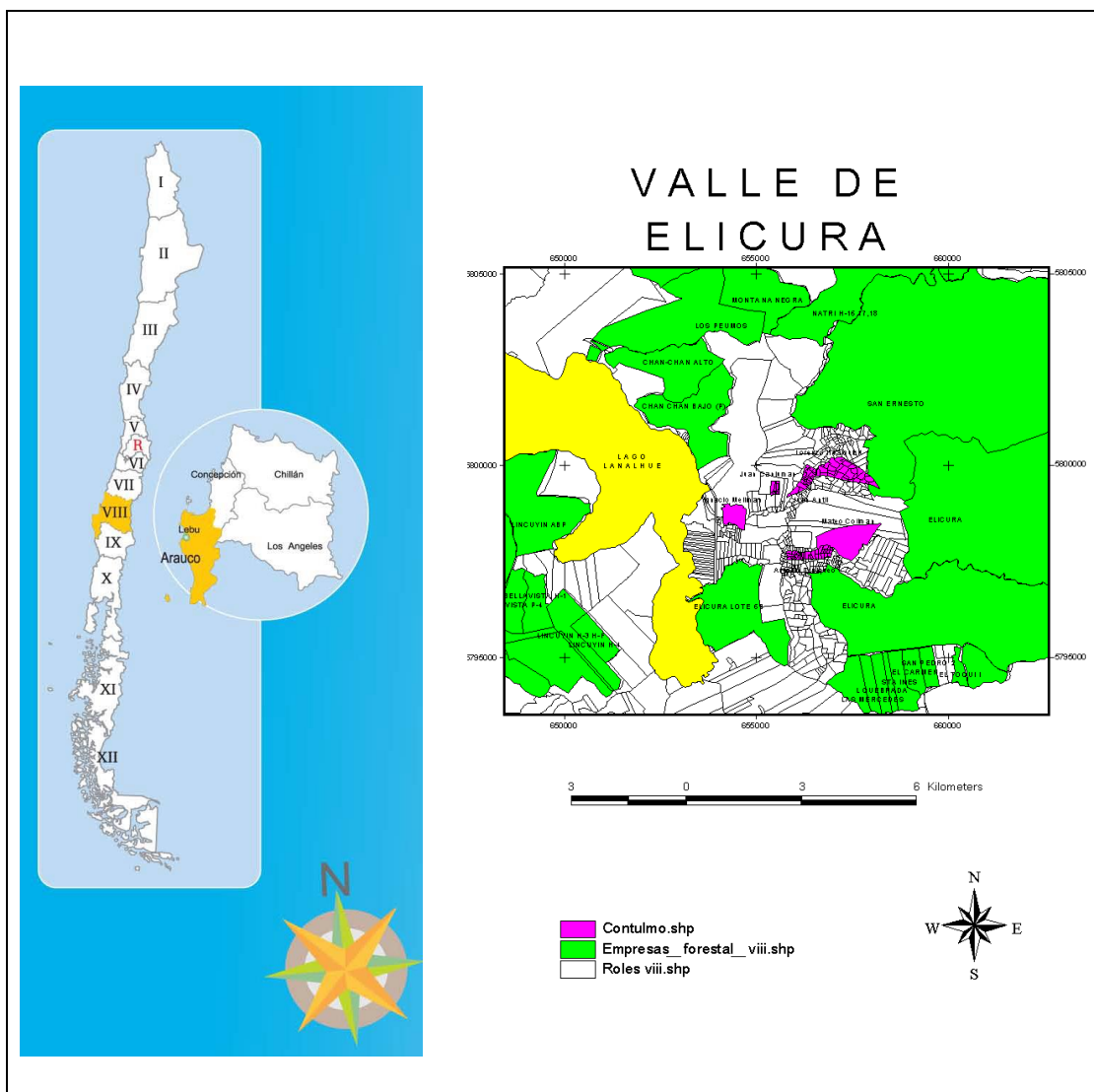


Figure 10 Map of Elicura Valley

Source: made for this study by Salvo, Hugo (2016)

Note: In green forestry corporations, in purple Mapuche communities, in yellow lake and in white other private property.

The community Antonio Leviqueo won access to a 'Trengr Trengr (sacred hill) and within the hill, also to produce a *paline* site. The place is planned as a communal site to transmit the culture and traditions for the community and to interact with other communities<sup>140</sup>.

<sup>140</sup> This is the place to play the palin, a communal sport and it also shares the same space as a sacred site for the nguillatun, a religious ritual ceremony.



*Figure 11. Photo of the day of the celebration of the agreement between Arauco and Antonio Leviqueo community*

Source: Photo from Arauco (12/2014)

Arauco, with the support of the intercultural mediator, Pablo Waikilao, a Mapuche engineer (also operating in the FSC circles), decided to grant access to Antonio Leviqueo community instead of the other five communities<sup>141</sup> that were also competing for the access to the land. The priority was established by criteria of the superior clan or lineage and the respect for traditional indigenous practices. In the words of Katherine, responsible for community issues:

In the Elicura valley, there are 8 communities: the oldest one is the Antonio Leviqueo. Territorially, this is the one that it made it here, that first had a traditional *lonko*. The other community established themselves after forceful relocation processes, or the Agrarian Reform, etc. It happened that the other communities were not interested in using the site in traditional ways. Instead, they wanted to make cottages for tourism, sell

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<sup>141</sup> Bordering to the property of Arauco Company there were seven communities. However two communities had no interest in starting conversations with the company therefore the conservation just took place with the other 5 communities that had a claim over the land.

to the gringos and dance around the cinnamon tree<sup>142</sup> in the *gigipun* and they didn't agree. The ones that respect the ancestral use and don't want the site to be used for economic ends are the people you [directing to me] are going to talk to. Currently, they are working with us (Katherine, 2/2016)

Katherine's description explains the selection process for access to the valley. The ancestral was defined around a discourse that divide spiritual, non-commercial, practices as an authentic relation to the land against desecrating practices such as tourism.

## Discourses and Material Enactments

From the perspective of Arauco Forestry, the definition of the ancestral is determined in a case to case basis. Arauco delivery decided not to follow the CONADI's approach, ruled by scientific expertise and the support of material evidence. Assistant director of Public Affairs from Arauco, Mauricio Leiva, explains their vision about the 'sites of cultural significance':

What we do is to recognize that they existed [the sites]. And maybe at some point when we planted we didn't know, or we knew and didn't care, and we just planted. What we want to do now is to identify them [the sites] with the community participation, to maintain and protect them. That is why we created the concept of sites of the high value of conservation, but for this, we created a process of participatory management because the value we want to protect is the relation of the people with the place...what we want to save is not the site per se is the relationship. That is why this is a participatory process (Leiva 1/2016)

The new governance simultaneously achieves local and global validation by establishing a cooperative bond with the community in a bottom-up process. Giving place to these process as a result of a 'legitimate demand not based on legal state records' (Leiva 1/2016) allows to Arauco to decide independently to whom grant access among communities. Instead of using an anthropologist (as is the case of CONADI) or using their legal archives, Arauco hired, Pablo Waikilao, as an

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<sup>142</sup> Sacred Mapuche tree

intercultural mediator to define the SCS politics. For Leiva 'he is an independent person, a *peñi*<sup>143</sup>. He has his other world, of being in forestry and of being Mapuche' (Leiva 1/2016). The methodology Waikileo uses is the collection of oral histories from the elders complemented with visits to the sites to support the claims and identify the sites with the communities. For Waikileo, material evidence is not necessary. Instead, he is interested in the current use and/or the communal acknowledgement of the site.

## Extensions

To date, 300 hectares have been assigned to the program and disabled for any productive use, under a total of more than a million hectares property of Arauco (Data provided by Mauricio Leiva, 1/2016). Three types of sites organized the SCS: Ceremonial, Cultural-Historical and Recollection. Cultural site is mainly defined as a site for conservation. Also described as an ancestral space such as a cemetery or a path; or an archaeological site. However, Arauco avoids calling the sites 'archaeological' because of the legal obligation with National Monuments of Chile<sup>144</sup> (law 17.288) that would force them to give the land back to the state. For Arauco avoiding giving this naming to the sites protects the sanctity of these places assuring communal access to them – such as graves and other archeological valuable sites- without losing its ownership. In this articulation, the patrimony is protected from state expropriation, and state agents do not profane sacred lands. For Leiva, this is a way to prioritize their trust bond with local communities. Second are the Recollection Sites. It includes sites with medicinal herbs and energy (collected by *machi*s). As examples, they could constitute wetlands, lakes or hills. These sites can only be defined by communal claims. As they do not count with any human material intervention to prove their existence, they can only be recognized by communal memory – as places that constitute a material entity of their worldview. Third are the Ceremonial Sites such as the *palive* and the *ngillatue*. The *palive* is the name of the site use for a communal game called *palin* played in communal meetings – such as ceremonies, assemblies and burials. The game – similar

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<sup>143</sup> Meaning 'brother' in mapuzundung.

<sup>144</sup> Includes natural places and buildings. The categories includes historical monuments, sanctuaries; archaeological monuments and public monuments. Law 17288 of National Monuments.

to hockey or Spanish chueca- is played with a wooden or leather ball between 5-15 participants in each team. It is conceived as a violent traditional ritual, a simulacrum of battles to strengthen bonds within the community or with other communities. The *ngillatue* is one of the most important ceremonial active practice. It is organized in an open field that is considered sacred.

Leiva explained that several points were discussed in the specific negotiations with the Leviqueo community. The extension of the sacred hill was a contentious point. For the Leviqueo community, the entire hill is sacred, however for Arauco that was an impossible demand given the extension they would have to leave unproductive. From the perspective of patrimony, the proportion of land separated by the 'Areas of High Value of Conservation' should be around 0.03%. Mauricio Leiva told the story of how they solved the conflict:

The full hill was impossible. A friend suggested me to think of the hill in analogy with the church. If you have to choose something sacred in your church, what would that be? So, with the community, we asked: where do they do to their prayers? They identified the part, and we gave them between 5 to 9 hectares for their use (Leiva 1/2016).

The delineation of 'Areas of High Value of Conservation' as a concept and in space is constantly defined and contested. For Katherine, the validation is a sensitive topic. There is no pre-determined mechanism to give validation to sites or to their dimensions:

There is always a *rewe* to be recognised. Where should be the position? They installed it here or there. The same happens with dimension. Here [the *paliwe*] is small and the one I have there [another community she is working with] is gigantic, is a football stadium. I asked: Could this be two? One learns from the process. So each family has a *paliwe* or is it just one for the whole community? We have no capacity to do it. In principle we are not Mapuche; one has to ...be more positive to validate at least for them to leave their rage behind that pain. The grannies and the old men...they tell you stories; here the

chucao<sup>145</sup> sang to me, here was the *ngillatue*, here the *ramada*, I have no way to contest that (Katherine and Vanessa, 2/2016)

These tensions become augmented in the entanglements over the power relations between communities and corporations. Following Moore, the direct link between the discursive and material production of land and subjectivities, in this case, through the practices of humanising global extractive corporations and validating oral memory show a more nuanced relation 'over territorialized power grounded alternatives articulations of rule' (2005, p.21). While the agreement with Arauco grant to the Leviqueo community with access to traditional practices, the motivations of the community, as her president expressed in the institutional video of Arauco Company, is the desire to recover the territory, 'to have the land for future generations'.<sup>146</sup>

Exceeding these boundaries by demanding larger plots of land, or in terms of uses-over ancestral land access, is the permanent element of tension where communities have a greater advantage from. While these arrangements are presented as 'neighbouring relations', Arauco's human presence is not constant. The only human presence from the corporation side is a guardian that controls several plots in one region. These deals rest in the good will of the communities in respecting their boundaries of restricted access limited to a routine of traditional ceremonial usage.

However for Waikileo, advocator of this method of land access, the communities are not performing Mapuche ancestral practices *for* the Forestry Corporation, they have this initiative by themselves. For Waikileo, independently from Arauco's own goals, this is a relevant practice because in this mode of access Mapuche people are recovering their cultural values. The SCS become a new channel for the longer battle for *territory*. For him the resurgence of traditional figures, like the *machi* and the *lonko* are signs of the awakening of the territory, 'as a desperate reaction to revert the situation' (Waikileo 2/2016). Waikileo explains that Arauco is trying to establish a consensual system of rule from which communities have to perform ethnicity in place. This means to articulate access to ancestral places by a regulated performance of ethnic

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<sup>145</sup> Mapuche sacred bird common in the region

<sup>146</sup> Institutional video from Arauco Company showed at the time of the interview.

identity— such as doing ceremonial activities, playing *palin* and collecting medicinal herbs, and so on. Yet Waikileo envisions that the conduct agreed by both parts would have a transformative effect on the communities. In other words, this type of spatial disciplinary agreement of ethnic self-improvement, has potential to exceed the boundaries of the spiritual and ceremonial performative format to generate a more radical action. Waikileo expects that the discourses and material enactments of the ‘ethnic spatial fix’ will affect the political horizon of these communities to one sovereign national struggle.

## Subjections and subjects

Pedro Pablo Leviqueo was working at the site on the day of my visit (18/02/16). He presented himself as a *comunero*- a member of the community<sup>147</sup>, son of the last living *lonko* (chiefly leader) of the Leviqueo community. Legally the term *comunero* has almost no currency anymore<sup>148</sup> - he is what is called a *temporero* (for temporal) referring to a permanent state of precarious labour, now currently hired in Arauco’s ‘Ecological Restauration Plan’<sup>149</sup>. For Pedro Pablo the access to the hill in comparison with the legally owned community’s land<sup>150</sup> represent a recovery of a communal zone. The hill provides an emergency supply of water and a space for spiritual practices, such as the *ngillatue*. Moreover, it is also a site of collective empowerment, offering a place for culture. As a community, their resolution was to take advantage of the opportunity with Arauco but keeping in mind their ultimate goal of having ‘all the right’ over it.

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<sup>147</sup> In the Chilean context a *comunero* is the name given to members of a community- result of the reduction process. *Comunero* derives from the term ‘community’. It refers to shared land titles by a collective. In the context of the American colonies to Spain the antecedent of the use of the term is related to popular uprising against the Spanish colony (for more look at *Comuneros* Revolution in Venezuela and Paraguay). But *comunero* still remains as the subject positioning given the ancestral collective inheritance to this specific site called reducciones. The comunero is the subject mestizo adaptation to the collective entangled property of land (reductions) named after the postcolonial resettlement regime, distinct from a peasant or rural worker.

<sup>148</sup> From 1979 to 1986 a total of 1739 communities (59.6% of the total) between Arauco to Osorno commune (from the VIII to the X region) became divided after the application of the law decree D.L. 2568 promoted by the Pinochet Regime. Through the application of the D.L. 2568 private titles were given to their new owners. The land stopped being considered indigenous land and its people indigenous by law. Under the new legislation and in absolute contrast with the law 14.511 that in order to divide a community at least a third of the community needed to be in agreement with it, under the new law, one person in favour of dividing communal lands was enough for the division.

<sup>149</sup> Name given to the program

<sup>150</sup> Already subdivided individually by members of the community.



Walking with Pedro Pablo Leviqueo it appeared that the community was under the control over the hill - no one else was there and the only thing demarking a dividing line (between Arauco and the communities) were just some fences and a gate. However, since 2014 they have been using the site for nothing but restoring the hill with crops of native plant (such as Hualles, Robles, Lenga). In the maintenance of this agreement however it was implied a labour relation that seemed crucial. For Pedro Pablo my visit was an opportunity to talk to the 'bosses'. He wanted to show the ethnic landscape production and the improvement in the plantations of the native trees. He also had some request to expand the work and was testing the openness of the bosses for other initiatives – thus, increasing the labour. For the intercultural mediator, this dynamic can be explained as part of the old system of patronage, located deep down in the colonial structure of power. For Waikileo, labour dependency can hold back the long-term political imagination of territory for the community. Yet, this is 'a risk that territories need to run' (Waikilao, 2/2016). The labour relation with the forestry is a double edge sword: on one hand it helps to retain the youth from fleeing to the cities but on the other hand, this precarious safety bond affects the sovereign claims subjecting to disciplinary semi-feudal relations. The titling movement between coercion and territorial emancipation, for Waikileo depends 'on each territory response' (2/2016). For him, every political communal organization (TI) – depending on their material conditions, spiritual strength and communal capacity - will enable them to negotiate in their own terms. This is an opportunity for communal strength and genesis for a radical solution, otherwise they may become trapped in a new form of benevolent patronage relation articulated by corporate governance.

This type of resistant patrimonial enclosures represents a qualitative change in the approach to Mapuche ancestral land claims, but not a quantitative one. For Arauco, homogenization in the countryside promoted by the state governance mechanism is the tendency to reverse, applied by a process of selective racialized differentiation. The intention is to show care for the local community acknowledging there is a territory sedimented under their patrimony with the premise that the spiritual aspect of land remains as the exclusive form of valorisation communities do. In the case of the *Treng Treng*, commercial or touristic projects promoted by other competing communities –

with the Leviqueo community - demonstrates, in the perception of Arauco, a mistaken understanding of the type value indigenous people should assign to the land. For Arauco, a productive value of land would desecrate the spiritual value of land that Arauco is looking to enhance.

For forestry corporations these initiatives create an opportunity to humanize their abstract omnipresence in the countryside. However, from a quantitative perspective the new governance method seems to be rather symbolic. Up to this point, 69 SCS covering 300 hectares have been incorporated to this scheme. As shown, the ancestral covers this double role of agency and conduct from which communities make use of race as means of re-possession and of competition over discrete territories. Through Waikileo's privileged position as a multicultural negotiator, arrangements of access to patrimony are valuable taken as part of an ongoing struggle for empowering competition Mapuche sovereignty over the land. Other communities, however, reject accepting Arauco or any forestry corporation as a legitimate interlocutor. Political and strategic reasons lay behind the decision process. Many communities currently hold no title to be considered as the stakeholder in a negotiation with corporate administrators. On the other hand, not all forestry corporations are applying access to patrimony as their main policy of 'good neighbours' promoted by the FSC<sup>151</sup>. The quantitative dimension of this form of access is a relevant one. It shows the distance between a symbolic gesture just favouring the forestry Corporation or becoming a significant transforming presence in the moulding of the countryside of the Global South. Location and stakeholders are then critical in the definition of communities' strategies. Depending on your neighbours – either from the forestry side or other communities- different alliances and competitions can develop in the formation of these motley localities. This form of corporate land governance has shown that rather being vertically imposed is a malleable process that is globally designed but locally shaped.

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<sup>151</sup> Mininco, the second largest conglomerate in Chile, for example just offers training courses but not labour nor land.

## Section II: Access to Property and the Legal Validation of Mapuche Identity

This section explores uses, abuses and excesses over the attempts to expand state spatial area of influence through the legal formatting of the ancestral by positive law defined by the Chilean government. Three cases explain different modes of statecraft in the production of racialized enclosures via *land as property*. These modern cases of racialized differentiation linked to global networks, shows, the colonial inheritance of state agents looking to assure the continuation of expropriation and subjugation of racialized populations. The current racial enhancement exposes the lack of intension in transforming economic inequality and the conditional inclusion of colonial structures. For communities, state ethnic validation will be shown as a possibility ranging from counter-hegemonic emancipatory practices to means of further dispossession.

With the return of the democracy the CONADI was formally created in 1993 becoming the first formalized initiative in providing resources for ‘the development and the integration of the native population’<sup>152</sup> (Law 19.523), in recognition of a historical debt by the Chilean nation-state. This institution, however became a disappointment for indigenous communities. The original commitment<sup>153</sup> of President Patricio Aylwin with indigenous people lost its significance when the concept of ‘indigenous people’ in the new constitution was not incorporated and art. 169 ILO did not get ratified. The notion of indigenous territory was eliminated in the final text of the indigenous law in correspondence with the definition of native people as solely ‘ethnic population’<sup>154</sup>. In this new legal framework, ancestral indigenous demands for

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<sup>152</sup> CONADI was created under the Law 19523 about protection, foment and development of the ethnic population. The law was passed in 1993 to set up and reinforce channels, mechanisms and spaces of dialogue between the indigenous people and the Chilean State

<sup>153</sup> The ‘Nueva Imperial’ accords of 1989 represented an agreement of the political parties’ conglomerate of the ‘concertation party’ for democracy and 28 indigenous organisations from north to south of the Chilean territory (Correa and Mella 2012 p.203). The indigenous organizations committed to support Aylwin’s candidacy, if in return, if elected as president, would give economic support to indigenous populations, to recognize the indigenous people in the constitution and to ratify the ILO art.169

<sup>154</sup> The juridical absence of the concept native people and instead of ethnic population eliminates legal arguments for land claims. It erases the historical trajectory, cultural legacy and legal access to land claims to previous the formation of the nation-state (Correa and Mella 2012, p.204)

land and water resources entered into the bureaucratic state administration via ethnicity and cultural. The state disposition for access to land was framed by positive right and exclusively in terms of property through a cultural recognition but not as a historical debt.

At the same time in 1997, the 'Lumaco case'<sup>155</sup> was the starting point for the political persecution of Mapuche activists (HRW 2004, p.1) which in turn allowed the militarization of the Araucanía-instead of applying conventional laws related to arson property. The LSE (12.927) permitted the deployment of military forces and the incarceration and prosecution of Mapuche people. This event meant the consolidation of a combined method of disciplinary governance: on one hand, CONADI received a first budget of US\$ 3,197,817 to acquire land for rural indigenous people; while on the other, antiterrorist legislation used in the Pinochet era was recycled in an effort to discipline Mapuche people attempting to resist and boycott the advancement of Forestry industry in their communal areas<sup>156</sup>. However, the international reaction to this event<sup>157</sup> and other cases<sup>158</sup> of resistance to natural resource extraction and land claims in the Araucanía region forced state security forces to step back in the use of extraordinary laws protecting property of landowners and extractive corporations<sup>159</sup>.

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<sup>155</sup> Name of the case in connection with the location of the incidents in the province of Lumaco

<sup>156</sup> In 2001 a pilot of the criminal reform was set up in the north and the centre south of the national territory. In the north the application was intended in fighting against drug trafficking and in the Araucanía to control territorial demands and Mapuche social protest (Correa and Mella 2012, p. 240)

<sup>157</sup> HRW, UN, Inter-American Commission of Human rights they all gave advice against the use of the law. The HRW produced their own detailed report describing the constant abuse by private and public security forces and racist and partisan behavior by military jurisdictions who ignore accusations of such abuse while taking extraordinary measures against Mapuche people

<sup>158</sup> By 2012, there were 40 convicted Mapuche activists: 11 with effective 21imprisonment; 6 convicted but with prison benefits, 24 charged and waiting for trial, and one suicide in prison. Lorenzo Llevul Antimil, committed suicide in Temuco in 2012. For more details of the detainees see: [http://www.elclarin.cl/web/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=5152:gobierno-de-pinera-mantiene-a-cuarenta-mapuche-condenados-o-imputados-por-luchar-po//](http://www.elclarin.cl/web/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=5152:gobierno-de-pinera-mantiene-a-cuarenta-mapuche-condenados-o-imputados-por-luchar-po//) In 2014, the international court of Human rights (Court IDH) was found guilty of violating human rights of members of the Mapuche people. The case resulted that it is illegal to criminalise Mapuche people claiming ancestral land. This resolution marks a precedent for Chile and other states in their region and their methods of dealing with land conflicts. For details of the resolution look at [http://www.corteidh.or.cr/docs/casos/articulos/seriec\\_279\\_esp.pdf](http://www.corteidh.or.cr/docs/casos/articulos/seriec_279_esp.pdf)

<sup>159</sup> A pattern that has been replicated around Latin America and other Global South countries. For details see IACHR article <https://www.fidh.org/en/region/americas/chile/the-inter-american-court-of-human-rights-condemns-the-state-of-chile>

The disciplinary adjustment<sup>160</sup> came along with an increase in CONADI's budget<sup>161</sup>. Though, CONADI's intervention in the property market became a mechanism for land speculation affecting land prices in the region<sup>162</sup>. CONADI was formalized, then, under increased social and international pressure and the continuation of the neoliberal model. CONADI's role in state modernization was to give a multicultural twist to the nation, making native people and ethnic communities the cultural bastion of the nation while diminishing the political agency of indigenous groups. The indigenous issue was intended to be compartmentalized in the cultural arena and disentangled from the political agenda. Modern spatial racialization was going to move between a 'new dichotomy of exotic client to anti-modern terrorist' – replicating a colonial line between the good savage and the bad Indian (Boccaro and Bolados 2010, p.655).

The downplaying of land struggles to concerns around ethnicity of contemporary land struggles attempts to mask the material effects over the colonial continuation of the racialization of space/spatialization of race. Under the ethnic guise, land dispossession, conquest and domination becomes a matter of cultural inclusion. This is not a novelty in itself, as argued in Chapter III the development paradigm (in concordance with the economic programs) affects the direction of racialized enclosures, mutating from marginalization to inclusion. Since the integration to the global neoliberal market, racialization of space/spatialization of race establish a new turn by promoting an entrepreneurial initiative of access to land by proving historical bonds to land. Under this new ethnic governance, communities themselves demand to belong to the state-space by requesting identity validation, land, and subsidies. Official recognition of indigeneity by state agents became the pre-requisite for land access and other benefits. In the following section, I introduce three cases: one of access; the second of failure to access; and the third of communal excess (from the bounds of property relation). These cases will show communities dealing with state and para-state practices of spatial

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<sup>160</sup> While the incarceration of Mapuche political activist and leaders is still common practice in the region, the cases against them have abstained in the use of the antiterrorist law. Is worth to mention that during the last period of the application of the antiterrorist law none of the 'terrorist attacks' counted any deaths.

<sup>161</sup> The budget has been tripled since 1993 from around U\$S 27million by 2000 to U\$S 129 million by 2016. Details over the budget Annex 1 (in Spanish)

<sup>162</sup> It is estimated that land acquired by CONADI in Araucanía has increased seven times between 1994 and 2000 (Aylwin 2003, p.186)

discipline in the making of land as property. Each case will be introduced in the first person as a way to incorporate my voice on how I learn about communities' negotiations and demands and how CONADI's agents responded to them.

## Visit 1: Community Antonio Wellin II

I was granted permission<sup>163</sup> by the cultural section of CONADI to visit communities that for diverse reasons needed an anthropologist to attend a demand needing cultural 'evidence' to validate the claims. 'Evidence' means a scientific validation of indigeneity, applied either to subjects or their lands. For the anthropologist a valid indicator consist of material entities<sup>164</sup>; oral history on its own does not count. The 'anthropological report', is a legitimating mechanism for giving credit to historical loss of land or validating indigenous voices and claims at the eyes of the state.

My first visit was with Patricio Sanzana (3/2016). He is one of the oldest anthropologist working in CONADI. I accompanied him to validate<sup>165</sup> a Mapuche group, an extraction from Antonio Wellin community that wanted to be officially recognized as a separate community by CONADI mechanisms and standards.

*'Tenemos los papeles' ('We have the papers.')*

*A group of around 20 people was waiting for us in a circle in the patio of one of the houses of the community to be. There were documents and maps over the table. The group was saying 'tenemos los papeles' (we have the papers)<sup>166</sup>. Patricio introduced himself and sat on the large table. He asked why they wanted to become a new community. While this was not part of an official questionnaire, it was the most relevant moment of the meeting. A female, the future vice-president of the community, took*

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<sup>163</sup> I was formally accepted as an intern of the cultural area of the CONADI.

<sup>164</sup> Material evidence- when the titles are not sufficient evidence- should demonstrate intervention in the land in the form of cultural marks or plantations specific of the indigenous community.

<sup>165</sup> Conadi's rule establishes that a group of 12 people can claim to become a community by the state registry. Conditions applied such as sharing a family name attached to an original mercy title; share the same family line, possess or have possessed land in common or come from the same ancestral community.

<sup>166</sup> List of twelve adults with their identity number and the mercy title related to their land and family.

*the floor. She told how the chief authority rejects them. The lonko leaves them outside of meetings and cultural and spiritual activities; they cannot access the state and private scholarships and funding opportunities; when the roads are being fixed, the lonko deliberately ignores their paths. She explains that because they are left out of the ceremonial activities, they have to bring their own pig for the ngillatue and perform the ceremony at a different time. They want land for that. Patricio then inquired if there is chiefly rule (i.e., lonko) in the group. They want one but for now, the president covers that role. For them, 'without land is difficult to have a lonko, there is nowhere to work, and people leave'<sup>167</sup> and the land left is not productive either'. The geography of the land makes it difficult to work: It is a hill, 'it's like we are over air'. There are social issues as well: they criticize the chiefly rule community as an unfair one. To conclude, she stated that as a community, they want to rescue the culture and value of their identity.*

Access to community registry (i.e., juridical person) establishes the framework for access to property and ethnic development means. Patricio is in charge of validating<sup>168</sup> the bureaucratic parameters for state community recognition. On this occasion, he checked people's names connected to the original mercy title (MT) and verified their identities with the people present. Twelve people were counted, fulfilling the basic parameters for community registration in the eyes of the indigenous state agency. To end the visit, Patricio gave a discourse about the importance of remembering their roots (after the MT) and proposed a community photo to celebrate the foundational moment. An action, he explained, he does with each visit.

## Indigenous Property

The bureaucratic performance of CONADI's anthropologist operates at the level of 'state benevolence' (Ferguson and Gupta, 2002, p.984). Rather than using police force, the capillary state intervention includes solving internal conflicts among lineage community members and installing a new livelihood horizon in the promise of

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<sup>167</sup> There were a group of 6-7 men also living in the area interested in joining the new community (juridical person) as well. Their original community disappeared because all its members left and sold their land. They also added that they were living surrounded by the forestry, completely disconnected. However, their original mercy title responded to a different name so they were not allowed to join this young community to be.

<sup>168</sup> Validation is an essential concept of the discourses of the ethno-development. It organizes processes of legitimization-(de)legitimation, certification and so on (Boccarda and Bolado 2010 p. 659)

integration to the state system. In this occasion, the state intervention enabled the rupture with the chiefdom authority. It produced a new spatial competing loyalty while asserted its authority in defining indigeneity through enforcing state sovereignty. In the region of the Araucanía alone since the creation of the CONADI, 1948 communities have been created, comprising 84,067 members and 620 associations with 20146 members<sup>169</sup>. Communities' numbers, however do not necessarily represent an expansion of land for indigenous people. In fact, from the 510,386 hectares registered in the MT until 1920, the current ancestral land recovered is around 105.029 hectares (in the Araucanía region). CONADI's program to buy land and help water access 'Land, and Waters Funds', more than anything, is an instrument that through property purchases<sup>170</sup> organize indigenous *land as property*, establishing a hegemonic discourse over land relations.

This new spatial disciplinary mechanism attempt to regularize the subject position and their relationship with the land. For the newly formed Wellin II community, state's bureaucratic recognition became a way to separate themselves from their lineage community and reorient their conduct by subjecting to CONADI's governmental ruling. In this case, the political technologies provided by state bureaucrats offered access to a new regime of rule away from the traditional authorities. The ethnic validation allowed state institutions to expand on their spatial area of influence.

## Visit 2: Community Currihual Huenchual<sup>171</sup>

*After a 40' drive out of Temuco – the city center of the region in the Araucanía- we enter well inside a small non-pavimented road. We met a lady in a crossroad. She came inside CONADI's 4x4 and introduce herself as the president of the community. Further in we had to stop to open a fence. 'Maria' was saying that the other people (i.e: National Monuments Council ) opened the fence themselves without permission, not introducing themselves, taking things as if it was their backyard. She addressed Justine 'you have to rush this process...we do not care what is in there, we just want it cover as soon as possible for the ngillatue and we want the piping to be resumed'. The excavation was 5 meters of length by 3 meters of width and 3 meters deep. The site was surrounded by barbed wire, and located at the*

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<sup>169</sup> There are registered 3213 communities and indigenous associations 1843 at the national level

<sup>170</sup> Transfer of national assets; and property regularization

<sup>171</sup> Taife area ,Carahue commune, Araucanía region



gate of the community. 'Look at this' Maria was saying, 'we can not have a hole at our gate' the ngillatue happens every two years and this year we are hosting it. For Maria hosting the ngillatue with a hole at the entrance to the community, exposed more than the ancestral remains, it was described as an invasion of their territory that exposed the hand of the state over their eltun (burial site), added to the lack of water, was a source of shame. Paradoxically, the ngillatue ceremony represents the celebration of Mapuche people organized as lof - as the ancestral territorial and political unit. It is the moment when the social contract with the admapu is consolidated. The president offered all the options she could think of calculating the time lapse (ngillatue was taking place in two months) and the cost to have a religious ceremony to close the hole. Not having clarity on what where their rights over the remains nor what were the obligations of the state, she opened a bargaining mode Maria said 'if in order to continue with the piping installation you need to move the remains, we would accept this as long as it moved to an adjoining plot and get a Catholic priest to give a blessing. We ideally would want a Machi but it may be too expensive. Maria offered a second option 'we will allow the research to be done as long as our ceremonial dates are respected- the company will have to return the remains in time for the ngillatue, cover everything again, and the water company should be held responsible for the costs' Justine took note and promised to produce a report<sup>172</sup> reproducing the community's interest in the remains.

Justine did not offer clarification over who was responsible for costs, and the report seemed to delegate the negotiation to the National Monuments Council (CMN for its Spanish initials). What could have developed into a political conflict of usurpation by a state agency, was instead covered by a 'blanket of dialogue and modernization' (Boccaro and Ayala 2012, p.209). As Boccaro and Ayala proposes, in the re-narration of the nation in joining the wealth of the world heritage, a universal formed property is developed (2012, p.215) while simultaneously community's land is displaced.

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<sup>172</sup> In June of 2015 the remains were found, the work was stopped and the discovery is denounced in CMN, the Investigation police attends to verify the discovery. The director of the national museum attends to the site. On July 1<sup>st</sup> it is decided by the CMN that an archaeologist will work at the site to save the pieces found (two ancestral burial grounds made of wood; three stone piece. These pieces are known as *cista* and *trolof* also known as *Wampo*) (Anthropologic Report from CONADI requested by CMN) Note: The timeline of the events described in the report does not mention the description of the president of the community of the ways in which 'officials' entered the community, treating the site as a public space and taking things without the community's permission.

After more than ten years of the community waiting for the Water Fund to materialize and get access to drinking water<sup>173</sup>, the company EXCON<sup>174</sup> discovered a burial site and the excavation work stopped after that<sup>175</sup>. By the time of CONADI's visit (2/2016) the works had been stopped for eight months. Justine<sup>176</sup> had to respond to a double command: to listen to the community that has not been heard nor consulted at any point and to produce a report demanded by the CMN to get the community's declaration regarding their position over the *patrimonialization* of the site. In the contestation over land authority, while the communities' voice is relevant and their lands are protected by Indigenous Law, the cultural indigenous heritage<sup>177</sup> holds a higher authority status over the national subsoil of any property.

### *Cultural Heritage vs. Development*

Indigenous Heritage became highly relevant to the project of reimagining the Chilean state into a multicultural society and as an entry point to the global market. For indigenous communities, the protection of 'culture' and their 'heritage' meant the invasion of their land for the expansion of the national multicultural branding at their expense.

Statecraft had collided in this case between developmental and patrimonial practices. From producing an ethno-development success story of multiculturalism, this space became sacralised in a top-down process, and enclosed for the state representation of the national ethnic capital. The community lost access to portions of their property while being invaded by a group of state agents. In this process, Indigenous heritage converted this community into a 'sociological fossil' (Lefebvre, 2003 p.113). By making their land a new state asset, they froze the land in time and the community lost their land as a living space. Focusing on the spatial element to this perspective, under this new multicultural discourse, the racialized other is asserted by the state in this operation as part of a branding global narrative, while in the everyday life, local people

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<sup>173</sup> Currently, the municipality brings water to the sector every two days in a tank system

<sup>174</sup> EXCON S. A. drinkable water installation services

<sup>175</sup> The national patrimony law obliges to freeze any work and declare the discovery.

<sup>176</sup> Second anthropologist of the CONADI in the region

<sup>177</sup> Full name is 'Patrimonio Cultural de los Pueblos Indígenas de Chile' (Cultural heritage of the indigneos people of chile) The National Monument Council (CMN) is the institution in charge of declaring, defining, protecting and value as part of the cultural patrimony of the Chilean Nation.

lose their influence over their places. The state sacralisation of their ancestral remains as part of the narrative of the ethnic reimagining of the nation became a new form of racialization linked to a global market. With the state acquisition of this plot of land for global ethnic branding, communities became even more impoverished and cornered – with no water and less land. State agents' validation of ancestral land simultaneously displaced Mapuche communities both materially and symbolically, treating them as if the original people were a thing of the past and the current living communities a degraded racial version of native peoples.

The fluid logics of ethnicity met in the production of one 'ethnic spatial fix' over 20 square meters. The simultaneous axis of modernization was not possible to materialize at the same time/place: one of self-improvement and the other producing the 'place of globalization other' (Moore 2005, p.19) in the new outline of the corporate frontier. However, for the community, it was not only that the state bureaucracy failed in their paternalistic assessment, but rather that the experience of grounded practices of sovereignty was lived as a new mode of racialized dispossession.

### Visit 3: Summer school in Temulemu Community

*I tried through all my channels: Mapuche academic contacts and my university alliances in Araucanía. I sent a formal email telling my ethnographic intentions and academic credentials but it did not matter. But when I contact Toto Pichun on facebook that is when he got back to me. We had friends in common - anarchists and people from film school. He lived in Argentina for seven years after going into (self)exile escaping from political persecution with terrorist charges. He was sentenced with his brother, Raphael, to five years and a day in jail and a payment of twelve thousand USD. After several chats on facebook with Pascual Pichún Collonao, alias Toto, son of lonko Pascual Pichun father and brother of the current lonko of the community, I got invited to participate in the autonomous summer school they organize every year (since 2011). Temulemu is an iconic case of this new wave of Mapuche communities establishing a self-management governance in their ancestral land linked with a chiefly 'recovery identity'. I arrived from Temuco after a line bus and one rural bus (just running twice a day) and a good walk the day before the school started. I found a small group of people preparing the stage. I slept with a family, mother and daughter. On the first day the family could not be bother to attend the religious ceremony. I got there late. I realized that only 15-20 children and adolescents with their families were participating. Other children from neighbouring communities – such as Didaico and*

*Pantano who were the two other communities that participated in the land occupations and subsequent territorial recovery – did not attend. The boundaries between the communities were clear and the only people who were not part of the community were the guests: musicians, artists, teachers, family members living in the city. Eduardo Mella, researcher, and member of the legal defence team that was currently supervising the application to the health program given to the community as part of the International Court ruling, was there as well. During this time and in various other visits I had the opportunity to engage in political discussions and in-depth interviews and exchanges with members and collaborators (February and March of 2016.)*

### *Acquired Property practiced as territory*

Temulemu community represents an iconic case of resistance that pushed governmental transmutation from disciplinary governance to multiculturalism. In comparison with other cases of land claims and bureaucratic land compensation, Temulemu community was exclusively interested in recovering their ancestral land. While CONADI offered them other plots of land, to compensate the mismatch between their MT and the current property land mass<sup>178</sup> (based on the Art.20B) the community was not willing to be relocated and hence they started a process of territorial occupation.

Their aim was not to acquire more property, but to extend their legitimate territory. The difference between expanding their land and accumulating property is crucial to understand the rationale in communities and governmental logics. Attachment to land is materially enacted as a territorial identity when communities are not willing to transfer to another plot of land just to gain more ‘property’. In these cases communities proactively demand to get access to ancestral lands using land occupations. What in different media outlooks and government statistics has been coined as the ‘Mapuche conflict’<sup>179</sup> responds to an expansive strategy of symbolic and productive land occupations<sup>180</sup> demanding lands that go beyond the official governmental registry (i.e.,

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<sup>178</sup> By 2015 out of 254 properties bought by CONADI under article 20B in the Malleco province just 73 (28.74%) were adjacent land to the communities. For details look at Annex 2

<sup>179</sup> Focusing on the ‘violent incidents’ that have been increasing since 1997 until nowadays.

<sup>180</sup> Symbolic occupations consist in establishing a spiritual landmark over the demanded land and making a religious ceremony. The productive occupation consist in the plantation of traditional crops over the demanded land. Fully developed in chapter III.

MT). This action appeals to the community's reconstruction of territorial ordering and re-establishment of TI. The criminalization of this practice has left 145 people imprisoned and 40 people with terrorism charges between January 2000 to May 2009 (Correa and Mella 2012, pp.305-14).

For CONADI, land is conceived as a commodity and a resource for rural communities for sustainable living via market inclusion. It is also recognized as a basic element for ethnic and cultural development. However, as Nora Barientos, a CONADI engineer explains, land is not homologous with territory (2001, p.25). If CONADI's agents recognize a territory it would mean a right of sovereignty over the land, this is a political approach to land that requires a recognition of 'ethnic' communities as autochthonous people. Yet the state does not recognize a historical existence of a territory before the Chilean state. Land returns (Art.20B) can recognise a mismatch of titles that emerge from state agencies after the year 1880. Before that there is no history that justifies any returns of land in the Araucanía. As such, lands returns cover a quantitative objective: if there is proof of missing hectares in a title, then any land can compensate this failure. When CONADI buys land back to communities, the relevant variables to consider when choosing a plot of land are market price and the productivity of land, location in relation to identity is irrelevant. The mission of CONADI, as described by several officials, is poverty alleviation and land restitution. As a result, analysing the application of the article 20B of historical land restitution, I found that 254 properties have been given to Mapuche communities in the Malleco region since 1994. However, analysing the data, the statistics show that just 28.74% (73 plots of land) are adjoining lands<sup>181</sup>. The other 70% were new properties<sup>182</sup> that had no connection with their TI and historical demands (full chart can be found in Annex 2).

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<sup>181</sup> The statistical analysis produced by myself with CONADI official Hugo Salvo. Annex 2

<sup>182</sup> Based on the public records and my informants from CONADI, there is no systematised information about the outcomes of the property/communities relation after land purchases via art.20B. Cases range from communities' relocation to better and more productive areas; communities division between families that are, and are not, willing to relocate based on attachment; considerations over water access, labour access, extension of land, and so on; to communities that after acquiring property plunder the tress or whatever plantation is available but then never occupy the property again, not for living nor for productivity.

The Temulemu community, officially registered in CONADI as Antonio Nirripil<sup>183</sup>, received properties from CONADI on two occasions: 58.4hcts in 1999 and 1274.34hcts in 2011 (detail Annex 2). Country state Santa Rosa de Colpi was claimed as part of the ancestral lands of the community<sup>184</sup> (as well as Nancahue County). After the reduction of the *lofs*, two private owners were given an extension of 5000 hectares and established the two counties (Viera Bravo 2015, p.22).

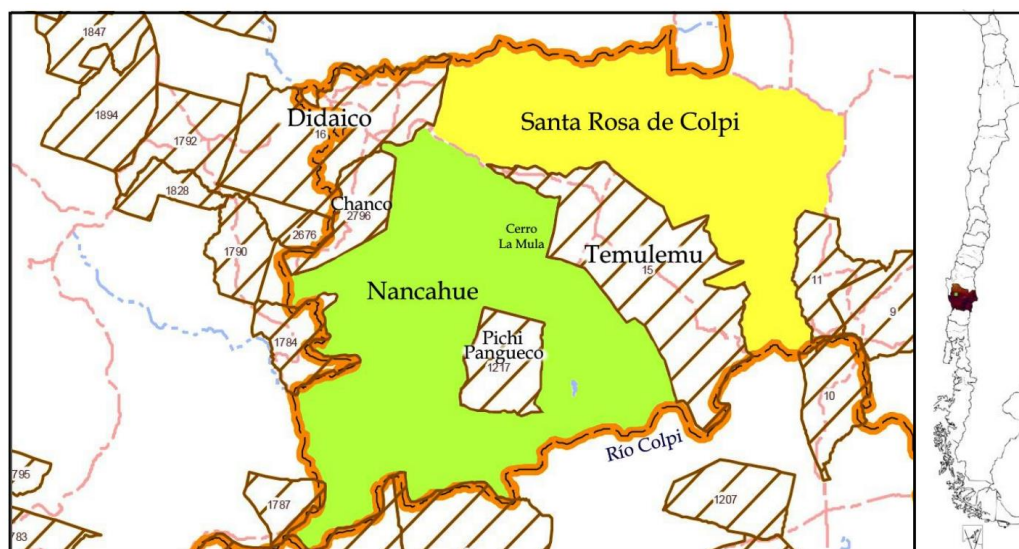


Figure 12. Temulemu community and surrounding counties

Source: Viera Bravo, Patricia (2015, p.23) based on the data provided by Correa and Mella 2010, (p.77).

A portion of Colpi's county has been legally contested since the 1930's based on a favourable sentence<sup>185</sup> that never materialized, plus 2400 hectares were claimed as part

<sup>183</sup> Mercy title N15 of 1884 given to lonko Antonio Nirripil in the name of 131 people and with a total of 920 hectares. The lonko (of family name Pichun) is convinced that Nirripil was not a lonko for the community, but it was assigned as such because he had good relations with the military and would be a submissive subject that would facilitate the control of the territory (based on conversations with community members and Correa and Mella, 2012, p.81)

<sup>184</sup> The county state Santa Rosa de Colpi has been considered part of the ancestral lands for three colliding communities: Didaico, Pantano and Temulemu (these are the fantasy names: their registered names are Pantano II and Juan Marin de Pantano and Antonio Nirripil). Pantano means swamps, referring to the characteristics of the land until the end of the 19 century (nowadays a highly dry region). For details of the handling, cropping and transfer of the land to the counties look at Correa and Mella (2010, pp.74-83)

<sup>185</sup> 58.4hct were meant to be returned to the community based on the disparity with the mercy title.

of the memory of the ancestral land<sup>186</sup>. During the Agrarian Reform, part of the land returned to be in control of the community; however, with the counter-agrarian reform (started in 1974) the land was taken by the state and finally sold to Mininco Forestry Corporation. According to Lonko Pascual Pichun, the community was left with 770 hectares to share among 170 families (Correa and Mella 2012, p.222).

By 1997, land occupation became the most effective strategy to get the state's attention and advance with their claims. For Pascual Pichun's father, the living conditions were declining not just because of the overcrowding but also because of the degradation of the land and the environment generated by the intensification of the forestry industry<sup>187</sup>. The community decided to occupy the land claimed by them for the last seventy years and avoid Mininco Forestry felling the tree plantation of the 58 hcts. Those trees, the community claimed, were part of the community's territory since they planted them in 1970 during the Agrarian Reform. For Mininco, the land did not have a relation with the patrimony, meaning that the plantation was theirs (Richards 2013, p.85). After two months of 'productive occupation' in which the communities were harvesting the forestry plantations, special armed forces entered the occupations to defend Mininco's patrimony. They were violently evicted by police forces and a cycle of violence unfolded against the community with forceful entry to houses, house destruction, repression, police harassment and so on. Simultaneously, in 1999 CONADI formally bought the 58.4 hectares from Mininco.

With the reform of the criminal justice system (LSE 12.927), the lonko of Temulemu<sup>188</sup> was accused of terrorism after the house of the Nancahue County and its tree

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<sup>186</sup> The ancestral land of Temulemu *lof* are based on the inhabitant's usage of lands before the state's territorial ordering and land distribution among landowners and European migrants. These included sacred hills, woods, lakes to mention some sites, that were basic elements of the social material reproduction of the communities but were considered abandoned by the perspective of the state agencies distribution land and were assigned to private owners (Correa and Mella 2012, p.79)

<sup>187</sup> Lonko Pascual Pichun describes drought and aerial spraying that contaminated the water, killing their animals, the plantations and allotments. The forestry enclosure system also eliminated access to wood collection and shepherding of animals that were a practice by common law (Correa and Mella 2010, p.222)

<sup>188</sup> Also the lonko of Didaico, Ancieto Norin, and the individual, Patricia Troncoso were accused of terrorism

plantations owned by Juan Agustin Figueroa<sup>189</sup> - a prominent lawyer with political connections - was set on fire<sup>190</sup>. During 1971 his county was expropriated, however Figueroa argued the expropriation was never materialized (Richards 2013, p.85) and claimed legitimate ownership over the county. Figueroa coined himself victim of the 'Mapuche violence' and became an active advocate of the judicialization of land occupations. The 'Lonko Case', was an exemplifying case. The political leaders of Didaico and Temulemu were incarcerated for 15 months accused of 'terrorist fire'<sup>191</sup>. After their release, the lonkos Pichún and Norín started a new land occupation and by 2009 Mininco Forestry decided to sell, one more time, to CONADI<sup>192</sup> in the area of influence of the community.

Between 2003 - 2005 the 'Lonko case' was presented at the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR) along with other cases of terrorist sentences. By 2014 (May 29) the IACHR condemned the state of Chile for having used the antiterrorist legislation against Mapuche people<sup>193</sup>. The resolution recognized the illegality of criminalizing the Mapuche quest for ancestral land. Reparations to the community included a health program funded by the state and monitored by the international court, the public mention of the sentence in national media, scholarships, monetary compensation for physical damages, and legal adjustment of the terrorist law, among others<sup>194</sup>.

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189 Distinguished lawyer and politician, ex-minister of Agriculture of Alwyn's government and ex-president of the Constitutional Tribunal.

190 Figueroa bought the state (800hect) in 1950, however CORA's document prove the expropriation in 1971. Communities also recount how they used the resources of the estate during those years (shepherding, living, making carbon) (Castro, Guerra, Morales et.al 1999, no page)

191 Correa and Mella (2010) highlight the ambiguous role of the lonko for state governmentality. Depending on the court, the lonkos were seen as leading figures for the community's action- hence, given exemplary punishment – or the one subject to be more sensible about as the ones leading a legitimate struggle as traditional authorities (Correa and Mella 2012, p.250)

192 By 2011 CONADI bought 1274.34 hectares – A demand is still in place against Nancahue state.

193 Case of 'Norin Catriman et al. vs. the State of Chile'

194 For the complete ruling and compensation look at Corte Interamericana de Derechos Humanos Caso Norín Catrimán y Otros (Dirigentes, Miembros y Activista del Pueblo Indígena Mapuche) Vs. Chile Sentencia De 29 De Mayo de 2014 [http://www.corteidh.or.cr/docs/casos/articulos/seriec\\_279\\_esp.pdf](http://www.corteidh.or.cr/docs/casos/articulos/seriec_279_esp.pdf)



## Property expansion and production of territory: the recovery of the *Lof*

As the story shows, land expansion for communities can mean much more than the accomplishment of CONADI's productive land mission. In the case of Temulemu, land became a mean for people's empowerment through 'identity enhancement' (Martinez Berrios 2015, p.57) more than an increase in land for poverty alleviation. The appearance of chiefdom leadership disposed a territorialized community social structure readjustment. TI enabled a way of being in the territory (Caniunqueo Huircapan 2005, p.6). Identifying land as Mapuche territory became a healing process for the community. Talking with Pichun son, actual lonko of the Temulemu community, he explained that Mapuche territory covers not only material spaces (land), but also the symbolic and spiritual aspects. It also defines the spatial and social ordering of the community and can create restrictions to the influence of evangelism – another threats to the community unity- and other forms of colonial invasion in the community's territory<sup>195</sup>.

As developed in *Land as Territory* (chapter III) the struggle for land as ancestral territory set in motion a reconstitution of the hierarchical internal political ordering of space for the Mapuche communities. A form of spatial order is established by collective memory mapping<sup>196</sup> delineating the 'ancestral line'<sup>197</sup>. The reconstruction of ancestral boundaries, or as Molina (1995) coined them, 'ethno-territories', operates by giving a relational approach to space and subjectivity. The primary rule in this form of communal organization is that decisions over the communities' land – use,

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<sup>195</sup> For lonko Pascual Pichun a constant threat is the invasion of the territory by evangelism. For the lonko, Mapuche spirituality cannot coexist with any religion. Some community members were relocated to neighbouring communities because of their religious believes after the recovery of land.

<sup>196</sup> Communities re-established sacred and ceremonial sites, communal land, communal waters and rivers, and public paths. Communal medical centres and schools among others. The arrangement of these spaces after the exploitation of the landmass for more than 30 years for tree plantations, demands workforce, time and resources. Temulemu community is still working on the arrangements of common areas.

<sup>197</sup> The 'land of the ancestral chief' of the 'large land' or the 'ancestral memory' are the standard references to speak about communal land control previous to the military invasion of the region and the traumatic experience of the invasion and social and spatial stagnation. (Correa and Mella 2012, p.74 and Viera Bravo 2015, p.10)

exploitation, administration and so on - should be collective<sup>198</sup>. By 2011, there was a consensus not to plant pine or eucalyptus, given the damage that it had created in their environment. A third of the 45 families were interested in organizing a commercial and communitarian cooperative system such as the *minga* (rural exchange support without the involvement of cash which for example can be organized in the form of construction, putting fences, preparing the lands or seeds exchange) (Viera Bravo 2015, p.25). The Pichun family and its lineage had advocated for collective land use, management and decision making. As a community, they decided to decline an economic proposal to plant pine tree funded by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and monitored by the state<sup>199</sup>. As Pichun expressed, they made that decision 'for the community not to become tied up with pine production and to remain autonomous about the destiny of our land' (Viera Bravo 2015, p.24).

By 2015 the reconstruction of the *lof* was reaching its limits in ruling over the totality of the territory. While common areas were highly important for the representation of the community's autonomy, everyday and individual land uses represented a private matter for different members of the community. If the community does not plant or cultivate together, or if there were no collaborative or communitarian plantations, it did not invalidate the notion of ancestral territory. While the lack of solidarity is mentioned as something still present in inner community dynamics, the community's unity is crucial for their survival as an authoritative collective with influence beyond their property titles. At the time of my visit, eucalyptus and pine were not dominant over the landscape; however, there were strips of land with 'Euca', as people call it<sup>200</sup>. Nevertheless, for the lonko and the Pichun family, banning pine and eucalyptus plantations in the premises of the territory represent a crucial limitation in the long-

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<sup>198</sup> Several interviewees explained that a good lonko should be a quiet person and a good listener. It just only speaks at the end of the community meetings after all members have spoken.

<sup>199</sup> The project proposed an alliance between the IDB, the representatives of the forestry industry and state agents. The proposal was to create a productive development plan with the community for the lands they were going to be given with the supervision and monitoring of the IDB. Private investors were part of the potential plan and a shared rights scheme for the productive lands. It was considered to offer a credit by the IDB to plant pine tree to be paid with the tree harvesting (after 12 years) being the state the guarantor of such operation. The rejection of the project delayed the delivery of the rights to the land until December 2011 (Viera Bravo 2015, p.24)

<sup>200</sup> Based on the Pichun family the eucalyptus present in the land were old plantations waiting to be ready to be harvested. After this harvest, they won't be planting trees for the market anymore.

term planning of the community<sup>201</sup>. However, not all members had the same vision. For some, it was important to have a small plantation as a reservation bank<sup>202</sup>. At the end of my visit, and based on my conversations, it was still not clear what the lonko's authority was over people's personal plot<sup>203</sup>. What was clear, however, was that the sustainability of TI depends on the internal as well as the external boundaries legitimization of the communal political authority<sup>204</sup>.

### Section III: Access to Territory

In October 1989 a highly symbolic occupation took place. In another anniversary of the 'Discovery of America' Mapuche people from Lumaco province occupied county Santa Clara and killed three heifer for everyone to eat (Pairican, 2012, p.26). In October of 1990 representative and activist from the organization Consejo Todas las Tierras (CTT) travelled to Valdivia, the last area loyal to the royalist during the independence war, expecting to be received by the Spanish king. Juan Carlos and Sofia Borbon arrived to Chile in commemoration of the Spanish Day<sup>205</sup> (October 12 1990). Aucan Huilcaman, CTT werken (public speaker) explained that the goal was to get ratification over the treaties the Spanish crown signed with the Mapuche between 1641 and 1810 to have legal basis to claim the restitution of Mapuche lands to the Chilean state.

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<sup>201</sup> The topic of the summer school was learning about nature and the environment in mapuzundung and the value of the natural forest.

<sup>202</sup> While as Viera Bravo highlights, cattle historically and still nowadays works as a reserve bank (Viera Bravo 2015, p.25), many Mapuche people are switching or adding a small pine/eucalyptus plantation as another source for wealth accumulation and emergency fund.

<sup>203</sup> The indigenous law allows for members to separate from the land collective possession and hold the right to either sell or plant whatever they want on their assigned plot of land. Based on my conversations with several members it was not clear if whether the collective will separate nor the kind of plantation they will have in case they separate.

<sup>204</sup> State administrators have applied harsher or softer disciplinary measures in relations to the common Mapuche people- by giving exemplary punishment or giving special treatment (Correa and Mella 2010, p.251). In either way, lonkos are acknowledged for being political leaders representing the community and having the capacity for collective mobilizations.

<sup>205</sup> Also known as Columbus Day – in Spanish however is known as the race day or the American Discovery day.

The emergence of these kind of collective actions signal a transmutation of land claim strategies, in the emergence of movement such as the CT'T, CAM (Coordinadora Arauco Malleco) and the Identidades Territoriales (IT) that conceptualise land as the premise for the nation. This section looks at resistance through the discourses and material enactments of *land as territory*. The data used to explore this type of resistant enclosure has been done based on the account of the forestry companies affected by the communities' occupations, negotiators (such as Mapuche engineer Waikilao), Mapuche intellectuals (Caniueque Huircapan), allies in the occupations (Temulemu community) CONADI's agents perspective. For security reasons and time constraints the visit to their communities did not take place. Part of the material expressing their views and politics are based in attendance to a conference of the CT'T and conversations with *werken* (public speaker) of the CT'T, Aucan Huilcaman, public statements and secondary sources (Pairican Padilla and Vallejos Alvarez 2011).

County 'El Cielo'<sup>206</sup> (occupied May 2014) and 'Nupangue'<sup>207</sup> (occupied in October 2013), both located in Ercilla, have been occupied by two communities struggling for 'territory'. Based on the data gathered – with aerial photography by Arauco (legal owners of the land) – the occupying communities are harvesting traditional crops and forestry plantations as well. During rainy days in which the community is not working and leave the land less guarded, Arauco's agents enter and get a direct sight of their patrimony. An Arauco representative gives the following diagnosis of the situation:

They are harvesting our forest. They have a sawmill, same in Nupangue. They fenced off the roads and divided the occupation by pea and wheat. With the aerial photos we see how it develops and try to make a strategy. They don't care about their legal title. There is no clarity of what they want. It depends on the moment... they threaten one of

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<sup>206</sup> The traditional community Guanako Millao (from Temucuicui) is occupying the county. Following their statement they are also expanding their occupation of County Poluco and Poluco-Pidenco owned by Mininco and Arauco respectively (statement done by traditional representative Gutavo Levicura and Mijael Carbone Queipiul)

<sup>207</sup> The group that is occupying is organized in a Lof called chequenco belonging to the community Jose Millacheco Levio (known as Wente Winkul Mapu). During the reduction (1880-1910) the colonist Juan Mackay was given 3500 hcts, while among 445 Mapuche people were given 2458 hcts. The land was recovered in part during the agrarian reform and with Pinochet's counter agrarian reform, lands were given and sold to forestry companies.

our guards. We went with a new guard a rainy day that they don't work. They had a rewe there and they were stealing wood from us (Vanessa, 2/2016)

What is defined as the 'red zone' for the media and political centre - the most confrontational area in the Araucanía with Mapuche direct occupation and permanent presence of military and police vigilance - is also considered the poorest area in the whole region and in the country. The ECLAC report (2012) discloses the condition of vulnerability of the subsisting Mapuche population of Ercilla in the following figures: Mapuche land is four times smaller than non-Mapuche population forcing them to have a subsistence economy. From 1997 to 2007 there has been an increase of 25% of the land dedicated to forestry plantations. By 2010 40% was dedicated to pine and Eucalyptus. This have resulted in a negative impact in the living conditions of the rural populations. As a consequence, the hydric resources also became affected by the expansion of the tree plantations to the point that communities became dependent of state resources for human water consumption. Finally, mortality among Mapuche people is between 30% and 50% higher than non-Mapuche people in the region (ECLAC et al. 2012, p.116-8)

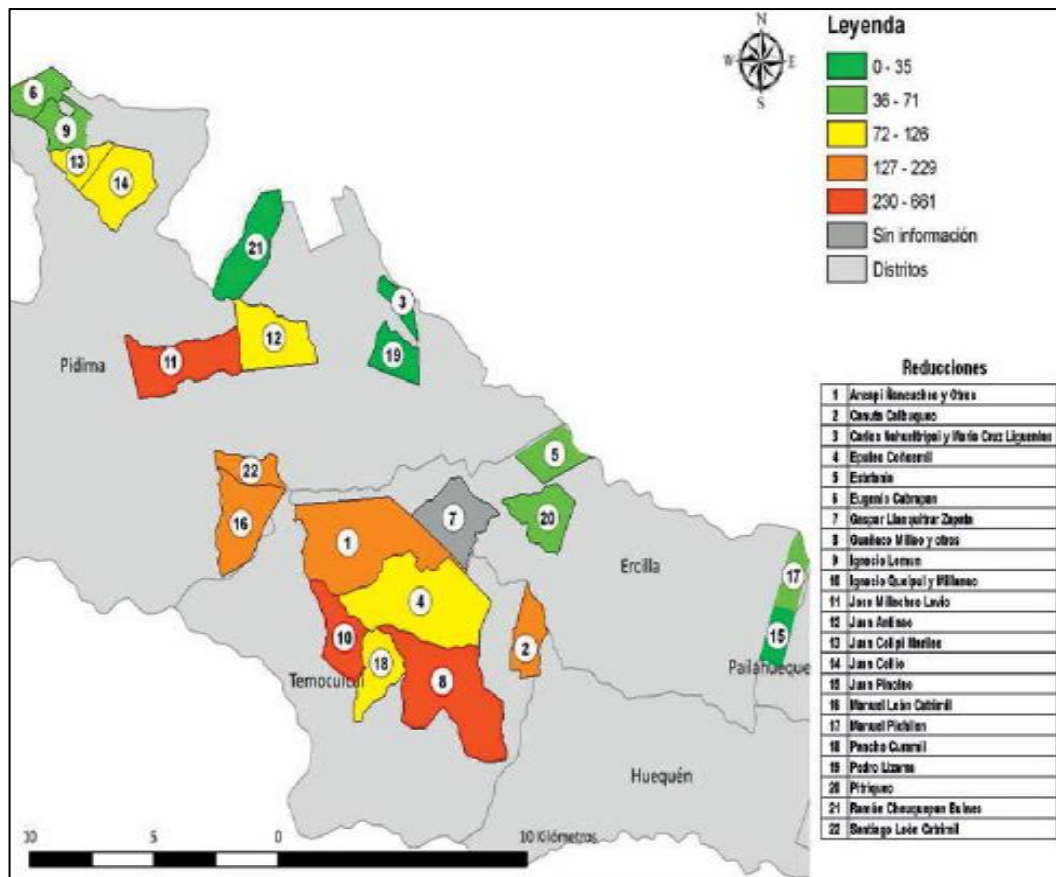


Figure 13. Ercilla Commune Distribution of the Mapuche reductions.

Source: ECLAC 2012 (p.55)

Note: These are the alleged communities initiating the occupations

No. 11 Jose Millacheo Levia. Also known as lof Chequenco and Wente Widikul Mapu

No. 8 Guanaco Millao and others

As geographer Raul Molina highlights sovereign demands of territory are transversal to Mapuche condition of nation but the type of claims also responds to the specificities to the community's region (2015, p.16). The geo-historical particularities of impoverishment of Mapuche people from Ercilla, the expansion of the forestry industry and state repression in this region became a catalyst in the communities' approach to *land as territory*.

## Occupations: Discourses and Material Enactments

Access to *territory* does not depend on or need proof or demonstration to other parties. The ancestral is a self-proclaimed truth. For these groups the strategy is the denial of the negotiation. As illegal occupants, state and corporate agents are not legitimate

interlocutors. To gain territorial control, collectives represented by *lofs* coordinate a recuperation of the territory.

The strategy is to take control of the entrance and exit of the area. The CAM method of 'territorial control' starts by the community knocking down forestry plantations (pine and eucalyptus), burning houses, cellars and harvest from the landlord. The next step is the rejection of the intercultural negotiator. In our case (Nupangue and Cielo states) owned by Arauco, after the first rejection to negotiate by the communities, no juridical case was formalized. A legal vacuum is created in which the legal owner of the land does not want to place a complaint or demand an eviction. As a result the occupation can last extended periods of time (some communities have occupied forestry patrimony for more than three years). Timing is an acknowledged variable in the strategy taken by both, forestry companies and occupants. Depending the moment of the plantation the pressure to recover the patrimony (meaning the land with the plantation) changes the circumstances. As a plantation it can take between 10 and 15 years, finding the right time to occupy or to recover it is crucial.

Waikilao explains how land squatting is planned by calculating the time of the harvest. Communities occupy before trees are mature, knowing that forestry corporations will not attempt to intervene until is necessary. That decision is calculated based of the sigmoidal function. That is the growing curve that defies patrimony efficiency<sup>208</sup>. Given the size of the patrimony of these forestry corporations and the capacity of the control of their patrimony, corporations are willing to wait until the moment of the harvesting arrives and a negotiation is needed to be done. That waiting period buys time to both parts to evolve in the negotiation. Depending on the needs of the community involved, land occupations can have different trajectories.

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<sup>208</sup> While communities do not know about this technical name, they are aware of tree plantations and the average time for the tree to grow. In many instances community members have been hired by forestry corporations or have their own harvest. They have also history with plantations, either during the agrarian period reform or just as neighbouring communities of forestry plantations. As a result of this expertise they can calculate the time when forestry will be pressurised to negotiate and attempt to recover their patrimony

These actions are organized under two categories: symbolic and productive occupations. The symbolic occupation consists in communities unified in TI organize spiritual ceremonies in the claimed space. Productive occupations (called by CAM as Productive Sowing) can include from planting traditional crops to harvesting the forestry plantation. The specificity of direct occupation in this section in comparison with the case of Temulemu (section II: *land as property*) is that communities have (in principle) no interest in dealing with neither CONADI nor with the forestry corporations. Strategical and political positioning determines this strategy. Communities who do not count with a validating MT to claim land loss to the CONADI, so they fully inscribe to the long memory of the ancestral land and communal memory as their only validating discourse.

Productive and symbolic occupations are used as methods to access and ‘decolonise’ land. The sovereign Mapuche relation to land operates as a practical denouncement of racialized dispossessions. Land as territory implies a political appropriation of land in the making of traditional, religious and productive practices, in the recovery of peoples’ own history. Struggle for land becomes more than a struggle for terra-possession, it recovers a relation of belongingness and not one of exclusively seizing control. The common thread to all communities is the re-establishment of the principles of Mapuche worldview. Communities in the occupation are opposing a partition economy of spatial extractive archipelagos and simultaneously rejects state structure and a development model that compel Mapuche rural people to further dependency and a subjection to the state as *temporeros*. The praxis of land occupations implies a subject transformation as well. ‘Mapuchizarse’ (becoming Mapuche) or *being in the territory* means to become this subject that recovers that relation with the land in the re-establishment of the autonomous political Mapuche social structure. In this practice he becomes a ‘new type of militant’ (Pairicán Padilla 2012, p.14).

The exploitation of the plantations and illegal sale of wood is a conflictive aspect of the decolonial project among indigenous communities that brings opposing views to the meaning of these practices. If wood is being produced is because there is an unspoken agreement with forestry companies. In the commercial circuit, the communities sell the wood to the same companies from which they occupy the land.



For many Mapuche political activists and intellectuals (mostly living in urban contexts), if the goal is exclusively the plundering of wood from the land then it should be not recognised as a revolutionary or a resistance project – it does not account to a resistant enclosure. Nevertheless, as in the case of Nupangue and El Cielo illustrates, land occupations responds as well to material needs of communities. Plantations revenue assures an economic safeguard that communities cannot access otherwise. Rather than having a moralizing discourse around the timber market and a purist notion of land recovery, material constraints and desires of these communities should be taken in consideration. As Cusicanqui observes in her work, indigenous people do not want to stay in the margins of modernity, but rather want to take control of it (Cusicanqui 2012, p.96).

### *Political ordering and subject formation*

The formation of the imaginations of a ‘nation from below’ (Cusicanqui, 2010) has been mobilized by three main political bodies that have emerged under the dictatorship and the transition to democracy offering a coordinated discourse under a decolonial paradigm that proposes the restitution of Mapuche autonomy in different ways. The CAM, the CTT and the territorial identities. The emergency of the CTT (Aukín Wallmapu Ngulam)<sup>209</sup> is directly connected with the organization formed in 1979 called the Mapuche Cultural Centres (CCM) -a group formed as a cultural centre given the restriction to create political parties during the last dictatorship-, and the Ad-Mapu<sup>210</sup>. The CCM was originated as a response to a law decree (DL 2568) that produced the *bijuelization* of Mapuche communities. The organization evolved with political influences ranging from the communist party and the socialist party. By 1990, a group emerged forming the CTT structured in the reinterpretation of the cultural and spiritual Mapuche worldview as a national political project (Pairican Padilla 2012, p.28). In CTT’s workshop delivered by its *werkeñ* in Galvarino community, their decolonial approach consisted in using the political system – elections, court cases- as well as making *mapuzundung* an official language– establishing by law the use of mapuzundung

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<sup>209</sup> Consejo todas las tierras or all land council

<sup>210</sup> The Ad-Mapu is another group formed as an extraction of the CCM. The name Ad-Mapu is a reference to the rules and precepts of Mapuche society.

in the Araucanía region - as the main strategies (Huilcaman 01/2016) but the question over land and sovereignty remained open.

The Coordinadora de Comunidades en Conflicto Arauco-Malleco (CAM) (Organizer of Communities under Conflict Arauco-Malleco) became a more radicalized organization in the use of direct action as their main method to reach self-determination. The CAM, explains historian Pairican Padilla (2011, 2012), emerged in the context of the construction of the Ralco hydroelectric<sup>211</sup>, the Lumaco case and the subsequent systematic criminalization of Mapuche people. It also meant a reorganization at the interior of the Mapuche rural communities in the revitalization of their ancestral authorities as the leaders of the territorial movements (Pairicán Padilla 2012, p.29).

Finally, the TI. As explained in Chapter III, these are communities that create new associations such as *lof* or political association<sup>212</sup> that unite due to their geographical proximity and toponymical commonalities. The TI establishes a territorial dimension to the formation of political movements aligned to the politisation of the Mapuche identity. In this way, TI becomes a platform for the Mapuche national unity organized in a federate autonomist system. As a political horizon, it implies the recovery of a Mapuche territory by re-establishing the ancestral territorial division of the Mapuche people (the people from the sea, the coast, the plains and the Andes).

The social political structuring of the autonomist project also demands a new type of militant. In the reconfiguration of Mapuche subjectivity around the identity

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<sup>211</sup> This was a hydroelectric power station (allocated along the BioBio river basin) executed in 2004 after 6 years of construction and 10 years of conflicts. Endesa Chile's project demanded to flood thousands hectares of Mapuche land and displaced several Pehuenches communities ('Queupuca Ralco' y 'Ralco Lepoy' with 4000 people). The final realization of the dam project showed the limitations of the indigenous law that establishes protection of indigenous land 'forbidding the transfer, sell or seizure of indigenous land'. However the law allows to an exchange if both parts agree and the CONADI approves. This was the first test for CONADI indigenous state agency. Since the project was proposed in 1990 three directors of CONADI quit after questioning the project. Coercion and communal division ruled finally achieving the community's transfer. The communities exchanged 638 hcts for 20000 hectares in a different location and other subsidies. The dam was named Ralco meaning in Mapuche- Pehuenche means 'plate of water.'

<sup>212</sup> Asociación Nankucheo in Lumaco; Ayjarewe of Xuf Xuf and Pewenche Communal Association in Lonkimay, to mention some.

constitution, the *comunero* transforms to a *weichafe* (Pairicán Padilla Vallejos Alvarez 2011, p.76). A *weichafe* is a warrior in mapudundung language. This subject is not just committed in his actions but it is also expected to have a specific behaviour. To be a *weichafe*, Pairicán Padilla highlights, you have to follow a similar pattern to the principles of the Black Panthers Party of Self-defence: return to the original religion, fight against imperialism, racism and capitalism. As well as the right to carry weapons and keeping a rule system of behaviour and self-discipline. This includes to eat healthy food, do sports, and not consume drugs, work and study. To carry a respectable presence: short hair, and appear well groomed (2011, p.74). The political- strategy of the CAM and the IT's proposes a 'globalization from below' (Mariman, 2006) simultaneously ascribing to the alliance of self-determination of indigenous movement and subscribing to the international legal framework of the ILO and international organism that grants them special rights as indigenous people.

## Conclusion: Land and Territory, concepts in dispute

Through the three typologies I have situated land struggles in forms of, patrimony, property and territory resistant enclosures. In these enclosures this thesis attempted to show the modern-colonial social morphologies delineating the countryside. In this spatial contestation, land remains the prime object of power in postcolonial settings; however, the material dispositions around it have expanded from multiple sites and scales, and resisted in a more complex repertoire. These examples of negotiation over land have in common the valorisation of land through the recognition of difference and history. The ancestral as a concept produces a legitimate value for enclosures, however its discourses and material enactments vary greatly. *Land as patrimony* as a mode of resistance dislodges the complex assembly of access and ownership that it has being contained in one political subject. Resistance through *patrimony* relations, demands a performance of the 'ancestral'. The performativity of the ethnic identity it is reflected as risky option between a caricatures portrayal of native population and internal differentiation and a consciousness portal. This form, however, by the interaction with the land, represents a potential space for self and communal transformation.

Access to *Land as property* through ancestral validation has been investigated through three case studies that ranged from complicity uses, abuses and excesses of statecraft. Antonio Weillin II found a way through colonial registers to separate itself from a hierarchical chiefly rule. Establishing their own communal enclosure (in papers), this new community became intertwined to state paternalistic ruling, gaining access to property in a potential future. The case of the archaeological discovery and water installation (community Currihual Hunechual) became a case of extractive capitalism from a state perspective. Alongside the forestry corporation, national heritage became a novel source of capital to purchase the multicultural narratives of global state branding and a new means for space racialization with the added value of displacing the actual community living in place, converting them in sociological fossils with no water nor land. Finally Temulemu's struggle exposes the risks of statecraft, when communities, in Moore's words, become 'subjects of their own rule' (2005, p.3) and exceed the boundaries of property. In this interaction, where CONADI delivered property, Temulemu community made a territory. Finally, resisting enclosures of *land as territory* carriers with its own contradictions but it also presents the most significant experiences challenging property and modern-state territory at once and as part of the same ensemble of rule. While their active capacity is entangled with the forestry market, the question remains if it is possible to manipulate the market – as Cusicanqui would propose - rather than escaping from it. As for the forestry corporations, for resisting communities it is not just a struggle against time; it is also a question of scale.

There is a tendency to believe that communal indigenous struggles have a direct association with ecologist groups; however, this is not the case. For communities in Temulemu and Ercilla, returning to a time without plantations is not a mandate. These are eroded lands with no capacity to produce other crops, especially when they remain surrounded by forestry. If they continue planting pine and eucalyptus, they will have guaranteed a buyer. While these commercial relations would keep them in a subjugated position and an ecological risk in the long term, it means a chance to join the market and not witnessing it from the side. Keeping a control of the patrimony (forestry and lands) in one plot of land it is an empowering experience. This is the first time that these lands, leave the peripheries and become valuable assets for global markets and are protected, controlled and surveyed by state interests. The attention given to these

abandoned lands has put local communities in an interesting position. It will remain in the capacity, and needs of each community how well they can transform the market to their own interest.

The boundary between an emancipatory project to one of colonial disposition is fragile, however enclosure as a spatial technology carries that risk, it is in their performances that the meaning of those enclosure should be measured. I have tried to show through these complex associations, forms of resistant enclosures that undermine the common representation of land as a calculative commodity in the world system of capitalist development. Land in its multiple forms (patrimony, property, and territory) is not a stable concept (Martinez Berrios 2015, p.58). The new regimes of enclosure linked to ethnicity responds to a market-oriented global demand simultaneously linked to translocal demands of indigenous groups and international organizations. The situated struggles of access to land/water and racialized subject 'recognitions', expose the constant attempt to frame the production of mutually-constitutive spaces and subjectivities in the name of the state's and corporate modernization project. However, direct actions such as symbolic and productive occupations, as well as negotiated practices are emerging as competing practices of spatial ordering in the multicultural neoliberal landscape planning. While the concept of ancestral land has attempted to frame spatial representations and representations of space to a market all-inclusive global countryside, from below, resisting enclosures are becoming relevant constellations of powers in the formation of the modern-colonial countryside.

## Conclusion

Being *desterrado* is more than entering into exile. In Spanish, *destierro* means to lose your ground. As we have seen in Chapter I, Latin America as a modern space, the formation of the nation state system and civil society, could not be further away from an ideal social contract in accordance with the contractual liberal theory. The formation of the modern regime was born out of liberal revolts and the establishment of a new form of subordinate inclusion of native, creole and landless people under ‘modern’ governance. It is not a coincidence that looking at the socio-economic landscape throughout the Global South, socio-economic position tends to correlate with ‘race’, with those racialised as non-European or native that would result in fewer rights and more limited access to resources. In those countries, as in most of the world, the formation of national identity has never transcended ethnic identities (Vacaflores 2009, p.7). Moreover, the production of the national identity, as I have shown, is deeply linked to land control and management. Rather than becoming a means of national integration and breaking ties with the colonial past (or even to liberate the peasant and start an industrial revolution), private property continues to operate both as an apparatus and institution for the production of racialised subjects, and therefore various kinds of exclusion. Private property and the Mapuche *reducciones*, in the case of the Araucanía, became spatial markers for a process of racialization and othering. Communal fixation to a piece of land operated as a mechanism of spatial racialization and racial spatialization, using the subjugation of native people as a social stratifier. Hence in Latin America social placement has been defined by a racialized distribution of land that later that would further explain access to education, labour possibilities, and political participation and so on. But adding to the production of race as a hierarchical system, the formation of modern private property relations it meant the formatting of a legal doctrine of competitive, dominative and exploitative relations between people and with land. Thus, when I explore land belongings and its nemesis of uprooting, I am not looking at migration or investigating exile studies, there is no movement in this experience. It is rather a different form of uprooting. This thesis explores the history and the contemporary struggle of the forceful fixity to land. In this traumatic experience of reducing societies into ethnic communities, as Machado suggest ‘the world in which we live has its surfaces already delimited to determine how we should

see, feel, and inhabit the soil' (2014, p.59)'. Being unearthed or uprooted means the permanent enforced disarticulation of other possible relations to land, to people's places, and to each other. It implies the dismantling of other ways of being and losing the right and the capacity to choose the way of *being in the territory* (Caniuqueo Huircapan 2005, p.6). The central question of this thesis then is not about mobility and migration but, on one hand, is about forceful fixity as an experience of disciplinary confinement and racialized social ordering, and on the other, is about recuperating the right to choose the ways of being in the territory.

In order to study the contemporary forms of land contestation in the Global South it was crucial to examine the colonial origins of nation-state formation in the region. In this history it was possible to recognize that attachment to land for indigenous communities comes from a colonial past. Land attachment was a response to defend something that became scarce in the process of colonization and deemed right for appropriation. That is why history has been critical in understanding *belonging to land*. Because, after two hundred years of the hegemony of property relations, land is still claimed and contested under other parameters beyond property access concerns. From the reframing of colonial landowners to national political elites to the current corporate regime of land governance, land is still at the centre of capitalism intertwined in the colonial politics of space.

## Research Question

In the combination of coloniality of power with technologies of enclosure, I engaged with land conflicts thinking of modernity as the increase of movement -flows and intensity of exchange- as much as fixation, control and confinement. This project took the position of the subject forcefully confined and fixated in land – in this case, native racialized people – to answer the main research question: How is extractive capitalism transforming landed relations in the Global South? Followed by secondary questions: How is racial spatial ordering affected by the advancement of extractive capitalism over the governance of peripheral lands in the Global South? How do corporate/financial capital and ancestral land claims resist and negotiate in the

conformation of the global rural landscape? And what kind of sociability is being developed under this new form of rurality? To explore modern land contestation under a new type of global land rush I investigated the new meanings of land using the emergence of new forms of enclosure. The transformation of the Rural South aimed to be explained by looking at the contested meaning of land ranging from site of social reproduction, habitat regulator, provider of the quotidian, and identity anchor to a disciplinary technology of displacement destroying the habitat and its inhabitants.

## **Chapters Summary**

In Chapter I critically engaged with the concept of land as property in order to expose its epistemological and ideological implications. I revisited the literature that supported this monetary approach to land's materiality in order to explain the implication of knowledge in making land a universal abstract thing. I brought the conceptual devices developed by Marx - such as enclosure, primitive accumulation and land grabbing - that attempt to expose the implicit violence of the separation between men and land. I tracked the following uses of historical materialism adapting the land question to the Southern American context. Mariátegui reveals in his work a more complex relation between land and people beyond its ownership or the right to exploit it. He found in the Indian attachment to land a powerful bond for political action and emancipatory project. This chapter finished by revising the literature that looks at land commodification under a corporate financial capitalist interest. Land grabbing, enclosure and accumulation by dispossession are theoretical devices that explain the current forms of capitalist development in the Rural South through the advancement over the commons, the change of uses of land, a new cycle of capitalism and spatial fixes. I closed the chapter introducing the concept of extractive capitalism that also critically elaborates on the re-primarisation of the economies of the Global South. Along the thesis this concept has been used as a category of political-economy that acknowledges a historical continuation of colonial imbrications with modern governance. The extractive approach follows a philosophical resistance to the modern episteme in treating land as an object to be possessed and exploited by acknowledging the larger socio-ecological damage of the extractive development model for the Global South.



Chapter II organized the theoretical framework of the thesis introducing the work of Lefebvre on Rural Sociology (1956) and Foucault's disciplinary technologies of enclosure (1991) that this thesis applied to rural lands relations. In the combination of both authors, this framework applied land enclosure to recuperate the agency of land in the constitution of social relations. This meant to include land's materiality – its physicality and co-presence with the human world (Bakker and Bridge 2006, p.5) active role in making history and geography (Castree 1995, p.13). I attempted to highlight the importance of materiality- and by materiality I also meant the ontological existence of those entities called 'natural'- for the decolonial epistemic and political project and transcend its semantic pre-eminence (Mignolo 2010, Castro-Gomez and Grosfoguel 2007). With this intention, I applied land enclosures in postcolonial geographies as a colonial apparatus of domination and a process of differential marking of bodies and lands that would result in a hierarchical ordering of societies. This form of racial spatial ordering, however has subverted its disciplinary intentions and has been appropriated by indigenous communities to be used as counter knowledge and applied as means for resistance. This approach to racialized enclosures is explored along the following chapters as a malleable technology with the capacity of transforming social, material and conceptual enrolments of landed relations.

Chapter III presented the current emerging forms of land enclosure that are delineating the modern-colonial countryside. I articulate practices, epistemologies and structures developed in my fieldwork - with the use of multi-sited ethnography, interview work and secondary sources - to explain the historical formations and the current applications of the notions of *land as territory* and *land as patrimony* for Mapuche communities and for forestry corporations respectively. *Land as territory* has explained the role of land as a political organizing actor for Mapuche communities resisting the advancement of forestry plantations and its environmental impact, and as a way to claim ancestral rights to land. *Land as patrimony* has been developed as a form of private sovereignty over resources which establishes its own ruling. In comparison with *land as property*, these two conceptions have the particularity of being flexible enclosures. For *land as territory* they take shape base on the needs, memories and knowledge of Mapuche people, allowing for changing notions of territory as an extended strip of

land, to territorial identities and archipelagos of resistance. *Land as patrimony*, and in comparison with a notion of heritage, is the most expansive and flexible form of land relation, changing the attributes of land by its intensive use and advancing in a depredatory mode. These two confronting enclosures are both, from below and from above, contesting the hegemonic role of property relations in organizing the Rural South. This means a challenge to state forms of spatial ordering but not a break from coloniality of power (Quijano 2010). The way coloniality is being spatialized under the expansion of extractive capitalism shows a radical transformation of the meaning of land becoming a hostile agent displacing rural people, making Mapuche communities the last frontier of the corporate agro-industry.

Chapter IV explored the history of the Araucanía through enclosure regimes in the encounter of colonizer and natives. The history departs from the period of colonial frontier relations seventeenth to the nineteenth century named as 'liminal relation' in which the Araucanía resisted as an autonomous zone until its postcolonial military annexation (1859-1881). This period lasted as long as the land was seen as a site for extraction but not the stake for governance. The 'Geopolitical Enclosure' changes this paradigm conceiving land as means and ends for the modern-state project. The land in the Araucanía was included as a necessary portion for the continuum of the national territory. The formations of the *reducciones de Indios* covered a foundational role for the racialization of space/spatialization of race establishing a hierarchical articulation to land access using othering criteria as the only parameter to distribute the conquest land. I tracked the uses of different technologies of enclosures applied as means of resistance and discipline, such as 'human fences', life and dead fences and barbed wire. The capacity of these materials will have an effect enabling different social formations, transforming practices and conceptions of land and the rural. Depending on its distribution, its capacity of land fixation, and the external and internal recognitions of the meaning of those enclosures these materials have shown the capacity in transformation the landscape, the control of movement, and to define relations to land and to others. In other words, the enclosures enable different forms of discipline and resistance framing subjects and subjectivities. I introduced the concept a new regime of enclosure called 'Ecological Enclosure' that explains a new transformation of land relations by using the same plantations as its technology of spatial ordering. This new

enclosure is considered a new regime given that it is radically transforming the meaning of land, from a site of inhabitancy, environmental regulator and provider of the quotidian to one of displacement and extraction. Moreover, under the ecological enclosure, the knowledge-power principles that defined property relations become undermined by new spatial technologies that expand its enclosures and its environmental effects transgressing property and territorial boundaries.

Chapter V developed a typology of resistant enclosures at the encounter of Mapuche communities claiming ancestral land with forestry corporations and state agents (CONADI). This chapter presented five cases studies gathered during the fieldwork. The first one investigated the negotiations between communities and patrimonial lands; the second, third and fourth case, showed the uses, abuses and excess of accessing land as property under the management of state agents. The fifth case analysed the practices of rural squatting and Mapuche political aims and material conditions for the possibilities of the formation of these autonomist spaces that made land into territory. All the cases show a malleable use of the spatial concept of the *ancestral*, based on memories, material evidence or practices. However, all equally enhance the value of a historical attachment to land as a mode of access. The enhancement of land fixity is linked to a colonial past that continues under a colonial power. This has been shown as a delicate practice, which on one hand reinforces a racial ordering of people but at the same time is becoming means for political emancipation. This chapter looked at the experiences of Mapuche communities contested inclusion in the globalization of rural spaces. The relationship between rural indigenous communities and land(s) negotiating with the different stakeholders, demonstrate the co-constitutive nature of landed relations enabling other ways of being. As this chapter concludes is in these enclosures that it is possible to encounter the most relevant experiences that are resisting the capitalism of 'tree felling' taking over the Rural South. Under an era in which new regionalisms are emerging dictated by global commodities it is important to have a different approach to the rural as well and think of enclosures as a new potential dimension for resistance practices.

## Contributions

In order to understand the nature of the contestation over land I directed my work aiming to make a double critique guided by the work of Henri Lefebvre (chapter II). A critique of a reality to break or overcome, and a critique over the acquired knowledge and the conceptual instruments of the knowledge to be acquired (Lefebvre, 1978, p.11). This attempted to be a contribution not directed to Latin-American studies or area studies, but rather to make a contribution in the interlinking of Rural Studies, globalization Studies and Critical Theory. This thesis intended to make a critical assessment of Latin American geography under neoliberal globalization exposing its colonial legacies. As such this research has been also designed to make a contribution in the sphere of critical theory through grounded theory. This means to validate knowledge emanating from practice – looking at the lived experience - to explain lands' polysemic vital role for (re)signifying and producing difference.

## Application of Lefebvre's Rural Sociology and Decolonial Theory

This thesis made a contribution to critical theory by moving the debate over land from political economy to one of political ecology and epistemology of knowledges. I applied Lefebvre's Rural Sociology model to delineate a de-linking method that explores relation to land through the colonial persistence in modern social topographies of the countryside and take resistance with a potential for a decolonial political project in the reconnection of the lived experience with knowledge. Under this premise I applied the progressive-regressive method considering the economic liberalization of Chilean economy (that also coincided with the Pinochet coup d'état) as the critical catalyst for the radical contemporary transformation of the Rural South. I applied the historical-genetic premise of the method by historicising *land as property*. I showed the performative effect in imposing modern property relations through discourses and material enactments making land an abstract, and a universal commodity (Chapter I). I continued to look at other contested forms of land relations emerging in the context of expansion of extractive capitalism from above and from below. For that I developed the concepts of *land as patrimony* and *land as territory*. I

historicised these two concepts, one responding to global corporate interest in land emerging as a form of private sovereignty over extended and unconnected strips of land, and the other resulting as the vector for communal political identity and an initiative for self-management (*autogestion*) (Chapter III). I described, analysed and historicised the contested formation of private property through the use of technologies of enclosure and counter-enclosure, while also put the notions of *land as patrimony* in motion through actions of ecological enclosure (Chapter IV). Finally, in chapter V, I investigated land as a site of power, operating as receptacle but also as production, with the power to affect others. In these tense dynamics – between global modes of production and local social reproduction – following Lefebvre’s method, I made a typology of the archetypical different possible arrangements between communal content and enclosure forms from stakeholders in control of land, resulting in autonomist forms of *land as* (territory), subordinated inclusion in the making of *land as* (property) and in the spectacle of corporate differential inclusion resulting in *land as* (patrimony) (Chapter V).

### **Resistant Enclosure in Postcolonial Rural Geographies**

Theoretically, I proposed a microphysics of land contestation. This approach helped to revisit emerging and sedimented notions of land, challenging the hegemony of private property relations in a dialectical movement between peripheries and centres, forms and content, and thought and reality. By proposing the idea ‘*The Right to belong to the land*’ this thesis considered the effect of resisting indigenous rural communities and their struggle under the political production of difference in the modern-colonial countryside. In this thesis I addressed the changing relations to land, through time, adapting Foucault’s critical treatment of enclosure and applying it to land and the production of rural spaces. I applied enclosure specifically to land thinking of this as the main technology of disciplinary ordering in the manipulation of people and places to analyse the current land struggles and its current modes of enclosure and counter-enclosure. In my work, this put emphasis in the colonial axis of power to explain how land is governed, conceptualized and resisted in the Rural South.

I made a contribution in this nuanced approach to resistance(s) – accepting negotiations and complicity in land arrangements. This is consistent with this thesis position on postcolonial-decolonial thinking, that attempts to go against romanticized notions of indigenous communities as ‘original’ and immobile and univocal. Following this line, the specific contribution to decolonial studies is the centrality given to the materiality of land in its multiple and contested forms. It intended to show identity formation and different forms of land claims as part of an adaptation process entangled in needs and opportunities. The relation between fixity and movement, attachment to land and disposal of people is what explains the formation of the modern-colonial countryside in a dialectical movement. In this articulation, the production of the country-*side* is co-constitutive of the adaptation of the *reducciones de Indios* from a site of abandonment and archaic past, into sites of social reconstruction and political restitution against assimilation and acculturation. This relation explains how modern Mapuche discourses of land attachment developed in a context of postcolonial communal resistance, making of each locality a distinct experience. Hence, modern spatial politics are treated as technologies of ordering, that, while put in place with a ‘colonial reason’ for disciplinary order, their uses have taken different directions to one of resignification of communal identity and resistance. In this context, the multiple emerging forms of habitat become political spaces. In this sense, this thesis contributed to globalization studies by looking at subaltern modernities (Coronil 1997) in space from the perspective of racialized enclosures. I have offered an alternative theoretical framework that exposes the colonial matrix of power in organizing land relations in the Global South.

## **Key findings of the thesis**

The theoretical formulations of this thesis were built upon the empirical findings such as the emerging forms of land relations. This thesis elaborated a conceptual approach to explain land contestation in the Araucanía under the context of expansion of the extractive mode of production. This research explores this transformation in terms of the re-articulation of coloniality in rural spaces. The concept of coloniality in space is developed, first, by a conceptual discussion of the multiple meanings of land; second,

by a historical account of enclosure; and third by a typology of land resistance. The typology was elaborated in the articulations, ranging from resistance to complicity, between corporate and state agents and Mapuche communities in the Araucanía.

### **Coloniality in Space**

This thesis makes the claim that land constitutes more than property. Chapter I begins this work by critically examining Anglophone political theory, which explains property as a specific relational social form that frames humans' relations to land in terms of ownership. Either collective or privately, land becomes something to be conquered, dominated and regulated. In this thesis, I argue that the determination of land relations through monetized exchange means the colonisation of all social relations through the logic of property and the suppression of other forms of land relations.

While the concept of land as property is normally associated with modernisation, state formation, decolonisation from imperial powers and citizenship, this thesis explains property's hegemonic global expansion in terms of the continuation of the colonial matrix of power in space. Governance of land, conceptually and spatially, constitutes one of the leading features of coloniality, I argue. By fixing race to nature and land, the globalisation of the property system should be seen as the modern imbrication of race in ordering spatial relations. In sum, the operations of property relations express the way in which colonial political thought became spatialized using race as the parameter for the hierarchical distribution of land and simultaneously the exclusion of racialized bodies via displacement and confinement through legal means.

In Chapter II, it is explained how being fixed to land, rather than explain a 'natural' disposition of 'native' people to land, reveals a violent history of forceful confinement of autochthonous population. In more recent times (30-40 years), however, the rapid expansion of extractive development over peripheral lands has re-signified this relation between land and race, reconfiguring it as means of resistance and ancestral rights, sparking the emergence for this research. In Chapter III, I provide evidence of this narrative through the theorisations of land as territory developed by Mapuche activists and thinkers. These theoretical formulations have contributed to the articulations of

the legitimacy of land access beyond the univocal logic of land relations based on the premise of the double binding of property and exclusivity. The value of the ancestral becomes an everyday reality as the critical configuration for access to land for these collectives. For the Mapuche collectives the ancestral becomes the critical configuration. This argument contributes to a fluid understanding of land relations offering a more nuanced approach to resistance in postcolonial and decolonial literature. Furthermore, it is one that is not dependent on land ownership.

The connections between land and race as means of resistance is empirically explored in Chapter V through a typology of land resistance where it is shown how ancestral attachments to lands are used as guiding principles for autochthonous forms of land squatting and negotiated forms of access. Material conditions were considered a critical aspect of this thesis to explain the development of the different modes of land resistance around the 31,842 km<sup>2</sup> of the Araucanía region. Depending on the quality of the soil, the water and the extent of the forestry expansion – as well as access to subsidies, legal rights, community cohesion and other key factors operating on the ground – different forms of land claims were articulated. Through a typology that categorized specific practices and material enactment – such as selection of type of plantations (native, ancestral, or exotic), forms of harvesting, traditional uses of the space and land distribution among members – this thesis distinguished between three archetypes of land access explained through land's multiple meanings. These are: 1) Land as Property; 2) Land as Patrimony; and 3) and Land as Territory. These three senses, explored in Chapters III and IV, described the three forms in which land is being conceptualised in the region of the Araucanía following state, corporate and communal practices. These three forms of treating land are used in resistance practices by rural Mapuche movements where the common variable for them is a historical bond to land, or in other words, the enhancement of that imposed racialised fixation to land.

### **Racialised Enclosure**

Through the history of enclosures in the Araucanía, Chapter IV offers evidence of the link between land, coloniality and race, aiming to draw a broader critical reflection on land relations in postcolonial geographies. Intertwined with the development of the



capitalists' mode of production, the thesis uses technologies of enclosure such as barbed wire, hedges, stones and wood and plantations to historically explore the subjectivisation of people and lands in modern postcolonial rural geographies. Using this historical account of land governance through enclosure, this thesis proposes to generalize an explanatory framework which could explain how through property relations modern colonial political thought became spatialized.

Drawing on Michel Foucault's work on confinement developed in *Discipline and Punish* (1991), the thesis explored enclosures in rural geographies as a powerful device for extending the disciplining of people to land. In contrast with Foucault's treatment of urban spaces as medium for human subjectification, I used the concept of technologies of enclosure to explore the shaping of land as a non-human living entity also with the power to subject and create (human and non-human) subjects of actions. Moving beyond an exclusively anthropocentric notion of power relations, enclosure is used then to also explain another engine of capitalism beyond labour.

In postcolonial regions, enclosure to confine and fix people to land became a key device to extend the exploitation of bodies to lands and thus, disciplining space to successfully be integrated to a global capitalist logic. During the modernization of Latin America in the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, mobility, fixity and colonial violence operated as the key three vectors for the development of capitalism. Racialized enclosures produced an ontological link between race and nature that justified people's dispossession and subsequent placement in reductions. This enmeshment enabled a legal system of racial difference that permitted the administration of land linking it to people's rights further systemizing the accumulation of differences –race, gender and class. As developed in Chapter IV, colonial agents distributed land following a criteria of 'knowledge' linked to place of origin (European, creole, native). In contrast, Mapuche people were forcefully organised as extended families or 'communities' led by a male member and given a piece of land as a collective under his name. Being left out as individual subject of rights Mapuche people were not granted property but collective land. Colonial agents often chose the most submissive male adult in the community to be assigned as Lonkos (tribal chief) for the community. At the same time the ratio of land per community forced its members into sell their

labour force as peasantry or immerse themselves, particularly women, into servitude relations.

It is in this modern-colonial history of making land a scarce resource, that indigenous attachment to land can be further explained. What this thesis calls the Geopolitical Regime of enclosures has shown how the different technologies of enclosure (like hedges and barbed wire) enforced people's fixity to land and land's fixity to people. With the articulation of the relationship between land and people, this regime established a synchronicity in categorising land (as an object) and people (as a subject) through certain attributes that were deemed 'natural'. This was done in order to racialize and confine certain colourized people and rightfully distribute land to others to make them citizens. But this naturalized assemblage of peoples and land became challenged when new forms of development were able to extract value from lands that were treated, until recently, as marginal – and therefore invaluable for capital. One of this thesis' claims is that the 'colour-blind' capital expansion over peripheral lands has larger implications on the production and reproduction of social relations in space. This form of capitalist expansion is explained as a new regime of enclosure that this thesis calls Ecological enclosure.

This new regime of enclosure demands the reorganization of colonial power in space. Following the expansion of the forestry industry since the return of the democracy in Chile (Chapter III) I discovered how enclosure changed its primary target of discipline from people to land. It is exclusively land, and not people, the one sole objective to be disciplined in this enclosure. As we have seen in Chapter IV, in the nineteenth century, what happened in the Araucanía was the racialization of Mapuche people. This was employed as a means to grab Araucanía's land and conditionally integrate Mapuche people to the national territory. Mapuche people resisted their dispossession in everyday life by using 'human fences' and contesting the meaning of forest and land among other strategies. On the contrary, the cotemporary situation is characterised by a change: the new mode of production can get rid of the accumulation of differences (i.e., rights to vote, access to education, to politics, labour market and so on) to extract value. As we have seen with the Ecological enclosures, the expansion of extractive capitalism is not invested in the development of the modern state territory, and the

spatial disposition to enforce a source of cheap labour, but solely, as Jason Moore calls it, in the production of 'cheap nature' (2016). In contrast, the body becomes neglected at the centre of disciplinary utility for the 'ecological enclosures'. That is why plantations, this thesis argues, operate as more than a new technology of production. In this framing, a new regime of discipline land relations develops. Artificial plantations on an industrial scale are affecting the territorial form of social reproduction becoming subsumed to a macro-energetic extractive pattern that simultaneously operates as a displacing force.

### **New forms of land relations**

A claim of this thesis is that extractive capitalism inaugurates a new regime of land relations, reordering the role of race for the capitalisation of social reproduction. This thesis argues that this novel form of land valorisation is more than a technological advancement for nature appropriation; it implies a new sort of capitalist territorialisation, one that dismisses the human at the centre of the creation of value. This regime also contributes to the transformation of an oligarch class that, while emerging locally, expands transnationally. In Latin America the term oligarchy remains a relevant concept to identify a sector of society that concentrates economic and, subsequently, political power. Historically it has developed as a landowning national class, now expanding on financial capital. As suggested in the literature of Agrarian Studies through the studies of land grabbing (Borras. et al. 2012c), this is a phenomenon specific of the Latin American region, where grabs and grabbers coincides in agents and places. Rather than being classified as a classic case of 'foreignization' of land ownership which is the common trend in African and Asian countries, this turns to be an inter-regional phenomenon (2012c, p.859). But focusing on the radical change of the mode of production of natural resources, my argument has hoped to contribute to the relevant literature by looking at the conditions for land access and governance from the perspective of resistance.

The concept of land as patrimony explains this new regime of land enclosure. Guided by a new economy of alterity, lands that were depositaries of native peoples (making both marginal in the process of enclosure) are now becoming central for capitalist

interest. Against the fixity articulated by property relations, the subsistence of land as patrimony depends on its expansion. The new assemblage of people and land is one of displacement and emptying lands' social role. This new form of alienation from land covers a twofold process: It is a material dispossession in the classic sense – of separation – but also in its socio-ecological role. Land's symbolic, spiritual, cultural and material role becomes eliminated because land physical qualities change drastically. The story of the Machi Francisca gives evidence of this transformation: land disciplined for the intense extraction of value affects its qualities becoming an entity disassociated from its locality and with the capacity of discipline local living beings. The Mapuche healer cannot use the wetland. Her problem is twofold: not only is she prohibited access but land itself has lost its properties – lost its energy. Land becomes a new 'thing' designed globally and resisted locally. Under this new equation, local people become the material frontier of this new dynamic land relation, in which the same patrimonial lands (lands with their plantations) acts as a hostile, displacing force.

This thesis has argued for the importance of land in the production of social space by exposing the current transformations of land relations through the exploration of one contested region from the rural Global South. In the rural context, land's materiality has become a central variable to understand the contested transformation of subjects and entities. This thesis claims that through different deployments of notions of land (i.e., property, territory and patrimony) communities have found diverse modes of resisting land dispossession and claiming access. In order to explain this, I developed a typology of land resistance based on the perspective of the practices of communities to explain the diverse notions of the ancestral in their negotiating with the different stakeholders.

Race still occupies a critical role in the geopolitics of land relations. Rather than being promoted for the development of the means of production, under the practices of extractive capitalism race is used to resist by Mapuche communities, the very communities who are the ones demanding to retain this role. The community from Temulemu, the Antonio Leviqueo, and the communities in Ercilla, to mention some, are all demanding, in their own way, their visibility. For many of them, retaining, gaining and enclosing their lands as territories is a way of come into being. While

extractive modes of production expand homogenising and de-socialising land, communities appeal to the racial difference to recover some form of land attachment. Either through the umbrella of international certificates and international demands of corporate responsibility (Antonio Leviqueo), state patronising practices (Currihual Huenchual, Antonio Wellin II) or direct confrontation to state and corporate agents (Temulemu community, Ercilla communities, Machi Francisca), these three forms perform a notion of the ancestral negotiated with the states and corporations to give voice to land's memories.

## Critical Reflection

To further engage in the theoretical formulation of the modern-colonial countryside it is necessary to explore the postcolonial rural geographies as a space distinct from the urban. In contrast to the notion of the urban developed by Lefebvre where capitalist expansion over the peripheries creates a dependency system and alienates any autonomous form of social existence, the type of socialization developing in the margins of the Rural South do not follow the principles of urbanization described by Lefebvre. The advancement of the capitalist frontier does not expand on private property relations but in patrimonial forms. As developed in Chapter III, the expansion of corporate rural spaces exclusively oriented to extract resources for the global market and the enhancement of population abroad, clears the ground from any human presence. Land becomes vertically ruled by an economy of scale that operates under the mandate of extractive industries. Under the global mandate of world hunger, lands become disabled as a site of habitation. A new spatial dynamic ruled by 'tree feeling' capitalism needs further exploration. While cities enjoy the flow of money as a result of the revenues of national exports, the countryside has become the scenario and source for a new spatialisation of capitalism that excludes any local, human and non-human interaction. Hence, the urban appears as a more polite and gentle space to its population and, at the same time, the rural reignites its colonial violence in a new form. The relations between people and lands, the synchronicity between peripheral people and marginal lands, or between labour relations and subordinated inclusion is disrupted by this new form of land enclosure. The new enclosures should be further

studied following the work of Achille Mbembe as a necropolitical form (2003) of power with consequences still developing in the Rural South. These new enclosures do more than discipline by expelling its population thus creating a reserve labour army or by putting them at work in an efficient manner. Under this new form, the condition of rural people becomes an archaic concern, as a type of livelihood heading towards extinction.

Furthermore, the consolidation of extractive capitalist social relations in rural spaces, make of the resisting population, disposable societies that become poisoned by their own lands. Land becomes a contested 'matter' in its possession and in its materiality, a site to be engineered, where the artisanal dimension of knowledge is expropriated by science with social, economic and cultural consequences. What we could call the 'bio/necropolitics of land', a new form of power where body and land are disciplined to clear the ground to maximise yield gaps, changes the composition of the land making it an alien and even a dangerous thing. This type of alienation however does not target the body but the land. It produces simultaneously a sort of land metastasis that creates a sick internal (body) and external (land) ecosystem just functional to one productive purpose. This bio/necropolitics of land dislodges reciprocal relation with land in the mutual formation of subjects and places. Whoever stays in the countryside runs the risk of becoming a repository of diseases. This kind of research requires a biological assessment of the ground and empirical work with rural populations showing the mutual interrelatedness between land and bodies.

It is important to highlight as well the limitations of the work in the field. Mapuche rural communities get interest from many researchers and there are trust issues as well as competition with local investigators. Communities logically expect something in return, particularly when it comes from foreign – American and European - and white researchers (non-indigenous) in general and more especially when these are short term relations. There are multiple ways to access communities but this is a delicate space, depending who recommends you or under whose arm you are coming from, the relation changes dramatically. Local investigators know each other as well and compete for the access. They have institutional competition and loyalties. As well as with the communities, the work with one or other institution affects the way you are treated.

NGOs, institutions and groups act as gatekeepers and is important to know this social maps before entering to the research. In my work I learned this the hard way and had to gain people's trust while learning about these networks. Finally, but more importantly, security could be an issue. Either real or feared, communities doing direct occupations in forestry's lands will seldom accept communication or will suspend them at the last minute. After three months, I could not get direct access to these groups and had to assess their experiences by other means – media announcements from their websites, gatekeepers and contacts and forestry affected by these groups. Also, the researcher identity will also be put in the spot. Last names' origins are relevant for people in the South – indigenous or otherwise. The choice to disclose religious or cultural identities it also need to be measured. For future works, these conditions for fieldwork are relevant when starting a project of this nature.

Returning to this thesis question, the history of Latin America and its countryside have shown that the stake over land struggles defines much more than having control for the means of production. The racial differentiations that established a hierarchical classification and selective exploitation of bodies and lands (Quijano, 2000, 2007) have become the main point of reference for indigenous communities and the struggle for ancestral lands as a political right. Political imaginations of indigenous struggles teach us that there are other forms of relation with land. A lesson that comes from other epistemologies of knowledge (re)discovered in the lived experience, emerging from struggle in defence of difference.

The struggle for the *autogestion* of land- having a rural lifestyle with own laws and independent of the pace of corporate globalization –has shown its multiple forms. This research gave a first step to make a contribution at looking at a new phase of rural struggles that defends human and non-human relations. In the new geometries of power this thesis aimed to explore how the role of nation states is losing ground in spatial governmental practices. Therefore, it is in these other spaces –markets, enclosures, and communications– that we see how colonial violence is operating, but also how it is contested and inverted as a means for resistance. Through research in site-specific struggles I presented the value of human and non-human agency in affecting global tendencies. This has been explored not just as a struggle for access but

as a contestation for the right to delineate everyday life in other ways to relate to others and to the non-human.

In this sense, indigenous communities in Latin America are at the forefront of a struggle against abstraction. As proposed for future research, we are facing the spread of a rurality devoid and disciplined to be against human social reproduction. The expansion of the homogenization of rural lands under the governance of corporate spaces risks to lose all notion of place and the virtual living circle between bodies and land. If we keep treating land (base and foundation of life) in vulgar material terms – calculative relation- we will lose our humanity as well. Projections of population growth (9.7 billion by 2050) justifies the prediction that more land will be needed – rather than considering that there is an asymmetric distribution, or bad alimentation issue at stake among other possible causes. Under this mandate, as we saw with barbed wire, the violence of corporate spaces will also expand to its centres. If this calculative relation between land and global speculative extractive strategy is sustained, modernity will finally reach Europe and it will be a quest of all of us to search and reach for these other concrete material relations to what it surrounds us.



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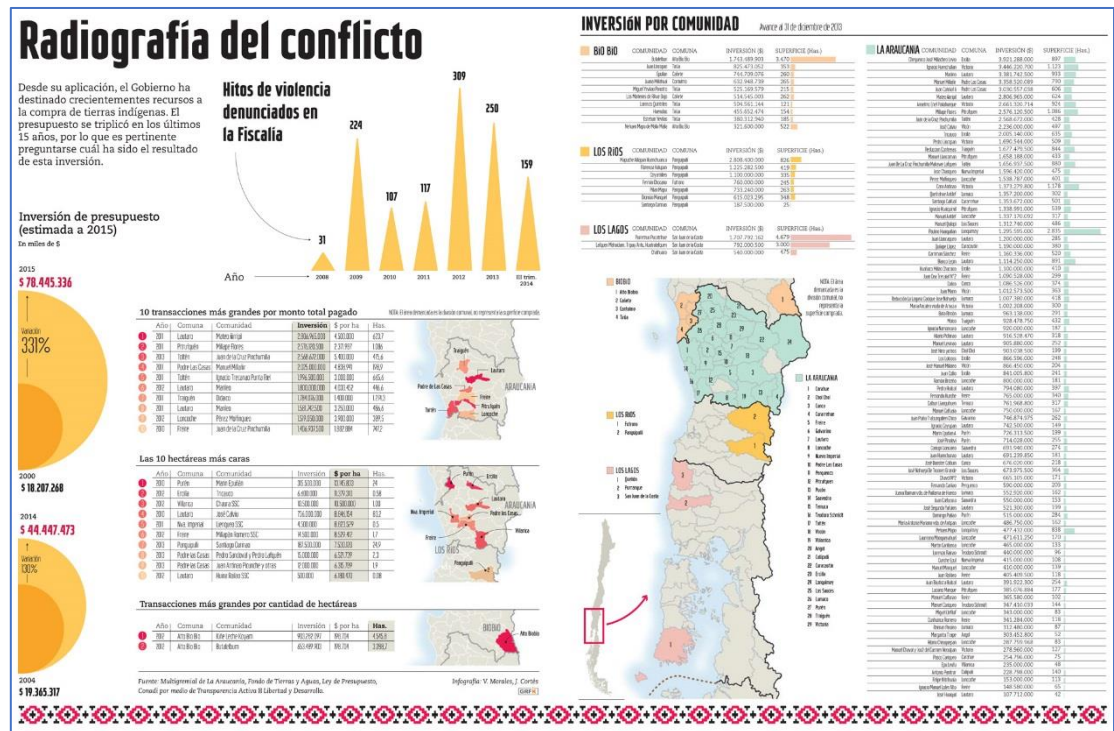
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## Annex I. Interviews

| Sector  | Name   | Date                   |
|---|--|------------------------|
| <b>FORESTRY SECTOR</b>                          |  |                        |
| <b>Bosques Cautin</b>                           | Pablo Forestry Engineer,   | Nov, 2014              |
| <b>CORMA</b>                                    | Marcelo Bonnefoy Dibarrart<br>Regional manager   | Jan, 2015              |
|   | Patricio Santibañez Carmona<br>Regional President  | Jan, 2016              |
| <b>ARAUCO</b>                                   | Mauricio Leiva,<br>Assistant director of Public Affairs  | Feb, 2016              |
|   | Katherine Andrea Coppelli Belmar   | Feb, 2016              |
|   | Vanessa Andrea Morales Donaire,  | Feb, 2016              |
|   | David Gutiérrez Carreño, Manager   | Feb, 2016              |
| <b>FSC<br/>Independent<br/>Consultant</b>       | Pablo Waikilao,<br>Mapuche Forestry engineer   | Feb, 2016              |
| <b>Academic/<br/>Researchers/<br/>Activists</b> | Fernando Pairicán Padilla  | Nov, 2014              |
|   | Martin Correa  | Jan, 2015              |
|   | Jorge Calbucura  | Oct, 2015              |
|   | Sergio Caniuqueo Huircapan   | Nov, 2014-<br>Feb 2016 |
|   | Aucan Huilcaman  | Jan, 2016              |
| <b>CONADI<br/>Topographer</b>                   | Hugo Hernan Salvo Carrasco   | Feb, 2016              |
| <b>VISIT<br/>Communities</b>                    | Comunidad Indígena Currihual<br>Huenchual with Justine Gariddo   | Feb, 2016              |
|   | Community Pedro Lincoñir II with<br>Patricio Sanzana   | Feb, 2016              |
| <b>INDEPENDENT<br/>COMMUNITY VISITS</b>         | Community Conequir Panguilef<br>Temulemu community<br>Pedro Linconao II interview to Machi<br>Francisca Linconao Huircapan | Jan- Feb,<br>2016      |

# Annex II. Documentation



## Annex 1 Land purchases by CONADI.

Source: Multigremial de la Araucanía. Fondo de Tierras y Agua (CONADI)

Notes: Chart crossing data of land purchases and report of violence. This chart does not clarify origin for the conflicts. It is also important to note that the 'Multigremial' is an organization that is advocate for the criminalization of Mapuche resistance (*gremio* in English means the representation of the ownership association – multi-gremial refers to many groups representing the industries perspective around the conflict). I am using this chart just as an illustration to show the concern of corporations over land conflicts.

|   | Comuna<br>Commune | Predio Comprado<br>Land Purchase | Hcts<br>Compradas<br>Hectares<br>Bought | Comunidad<br>Beneficiada<br>Benefited<br>Community | Año<br>Year | Copropiedad? O<br>Personería Juridical<br>Community Or<br>Juridical Person |
|---|-------------------|----------------------------------|---|--|-------------|--|
| 1 | Collipuli         | La suerte (Hijuela 1)            | 102                                     | Francisco<br>Levipan                               | 1996        |  |
| 2 | Collipuli         | La Suerte (Hijuela 2)            | 102                                     | ñancul Paila                                       | 1996        |  |

|    |           |                                 |        |                                  |      |   |
|----|-----------|---------------------------------|--------|----------------------------------|------|---|
| 3  | Collipuli | El Avellano (lote A)            | 142    | Rauco - antonio Melinao          | 1997 |   |
| 4  | Collipuli | El Avellano (lote B)            | 3.98   | Rauco -Jose de la Rosa colicheo? | 2004 |   |
| 5  | Collipuli | Fundo Santa Luisa               | 425    | Lolcura y Linco                  | 1994 |   |
| 6  | Collipuli | Fundo Ginebra                   | 403.2  | Juan Ahilla Varela               | 2002 |   |
| 7  | Collipuli | El mirador                      | 144.3  | Antonio Panitrur                 | 2003 | Francisco Huenchupan Carilao- dueño de predio del medio. Posible miembro de la comunidad          |
| 8  | Collipuli | parcela 6, lote C               | 146.06 | Antonio Panitrur                 | 2002 |   |
| 9  | Collipuli | La union presente               | 8.15   | Antonio Panitrur                 | 2004 |   |
| 10 | Collipuli | Fundo santo Domingo             | 82.69  | Antonio Panitrur                 | 2007 |   |
| 11 | Collipuli | Fundo Santo Domingo: Lote 2, B1 | 16     | Antonio Panitrur                 | 2005 |   |
| 12 | Collipuli | Hijuela los perales             | 37.88  | Antonio Panitrur                 | 2007 |   |
| 13 | Collipuli | Fundo Santo Domingo: Lote B2    | 3.42   | Antonio Panitrur                 | 2008 |   |
| 14 | Ercilla   | Fundo Chihuayhue Hij. 1y 2      | 460    | Jose Millacheo Levio Chekencko   | 2009 |   |
| 15 | Ercilla   | Pidenco lote B                  | 400.3  | Tricauco                         | 2008 |   |
| 16 | Ercilla   | Chihuyahue                      | 910    | Requen Pillan Y Folil Mapu       | 2000 | las comunidades acordaron unirse en la compra- nombre artificial de colil mapu                    |
| 17 | Ercilla   | Parcela 20 requen, 7 Co.        | 240.7  | Juan collio                      | 2008 |   |
| 18 | Ercilla   | Resto del fundo Foluco          | 40     | Autonoma Mapuche Temucui-cui     | 2014 | los huenchullan - no son comunidad: gente complicada. De la comunidad -problable- Igancio Queipul |
| 19 | Ercilla   | Retazos de (predio x?)          | 20.05  | Autonoma Mapuche Temucui-cui     | 2014 | los huenchullan - no son comunidad: gente complicada. De la comunidad -problable- Igancio Queipul |
| 20 | Ercilla   | Retazos hijuela                 | 43     | Autonoma Mapuche Temucui-cui     | 2014 |   |

|    |         |  |        |                              |      |  |
|----|---------|--|--------|------------------------------|------|--|
| 21 | Ercilla | Retazos hijuela 40   | 25.5   | Autonoma Mapuche Temucui-cui | 2014 |  |
| 22 | Ercilla | Milontraro (hijuela 2)   | 61     | Autonoma Mapuche Temucui-cui | 2014 |  |
| 23 | Ercilla | Fundo Montenegro Lote A  | 9      | Autonoma Mapuche Temucui-cui | 2014 | total de la autonoma: 198 (15 familias)  |
| 24 | Ercilla | Hijuelas 1,2,5 del fundo volleco   | 124.1  | Ancapi ñancucheo             | 2009 |  |
| 25 | Ercilla | Hijuelas 3 del fundo volleco   | 45.38  | Ancapi ñancucheo             | 2008 |  |
| 26 | Ercilla | El manzano y Santa Ema   | 89.42  | Ancapi ñancucheo             | 2011 |  |
| 27 | Ercilla | Santa rosa de Colupo   | 70     | Ancapi ñancucheo             | 1997 |  |
| 28 | Ercilla | Las Vegas  | 27.6   | Ancapi ñancucheo             | 2009 | esta dentro de la comunidad? Los papeles dicen q ya era de la comunidad                                |
| 29 | Ercilla | La Romana (familia Urban )   | 61     | Ignacio Queipul Millanao     | 2014 |  |
| 30 | Ercilla | Fundo Montenegro Lote B  | 100    | Ignacio Queipul Millanao     | 2014 |  |
| 31 | Ercilla | Lote B Fundo Alaska  | 1918   | Ignacio Queipul Millanao     | 2014 | topografía: cerro//forestal mininco//tenian 115 familias al momento de la compra                       |
| 32 | Ercilla | Lote A Fundo Alaska  | 98     | Ignacio Queipul Millanao     | 1998 | topografía: cerro//dueño particular  |
| 33 | Ercilla | Lote 2 de Quilaquita y el cielo lote D (dueño probablemente junto roles) | 410.2  | Huañaco Millao Chacaico      | 2009 |  |
| 34 | Ercilla | Montre Redondo Hijuelo 5 y 6   | 57.89  | Huañaco Millao Chacaico      | 2003 | dueño de fundo seitz waike y vazques esta rodeada de comunidades. Hugo piensa q estan siendo ocupadas. |
| 35 | Ercilla | Fundo San Teodoro, Hij. 1,2,3,4  | 96.45  | Huañaco Millao Chacaico      | 2003 |  |
| 36 | Ercilla | Lote A Fundo Chiquitoy, lote B   | 111.82 | Huañaco Millao Chacaico      | 2006 |  |

|    |          |                                       |        |  |      |   |
|----|----------|---------------------------------------|--------|--|------|---|
| 37 | Ercilla  | Hijuela Santa Marta, lote A y B       | 19.01  | Pancho Curamil                           | 2003 |   |
| 38 | Ercilla  | Hijuela el munco y trapico            | 71.42  | Pancho Curamil                           | 2003 |   |
| 39 | Victoria | La montaña, los pinos y casas blancas | 195.81 | Anselo Enef Pahilahuque                  | 2010 | 215 famili. 2000hct.  |
| 40 | Victoria | La Guarda                             | 126.8  | Manuel Chavol y Jose del Carmén Neculpan | 2008 | dos longkos   |
| 41 | Victoria | Hijuela 3.15.21.24.25.26              | 37.7   | Juan andres Cheuque                      | 2009 |   |
| 42 | Victoria | Hijuela 27                            | 37.4   | Juan Pairenil                            |      | esta es una reduccion (nombre) curique. Comunidad que viene de un TM que no permitio la division de 1982.   |
| 43 | Victoria | San Carlos                            | 127.8  | Ancao Ancalen                            | 1997 |   |
| 44 | Victoria | Santa Isabel                          | 155.05 | Luis Carilao                             | 2005 | localidad selva oscura - VILLORRIO  |
| 45 | Victoria | PP. Santa Isabel. Lote 3              | 14.95  | Luis Carilao                             |      |   |
| 46 | Lumaco   | Raquilco                              | 462.4  | Marileo Erte                             | 1994 |   |
| 47 | Lumaco   | Ex Corral                             | 190.02 | Francisco Huilcaleo I                    | 2007 | division de francisco Huilcaleo luego de la compra. Muchas familias con problemas internos. Francisco Huilcaleo II no tuvieron acceso a la demanda y ellos accedieron a un predio alternativo entre Traiguen y Victoria   |
| 48 | Lumaco   | Fundo Corrales lote 3B                | 127.6  | Francisco Huilcaleo I                    | 2004 |   |
| 49 | Lumaco   | Los Corrales lote 4                   | 129.5  | Francisco Huilcaleo I                    | 1995 | Fundo corrales era un hdp que perseguia a la gente durante la dictadura. Llego a ser alcalde de Lumaco (Diaz Ruquer), tomaba whisky. Restaurant de nicaragua socialista. Le vendiern por menos de la tazacion - el tipo estaba obligado a vender porq tenia q mantener a la mujer artista |

|    |          |  |             |   |      |   |
|----|----------|--|-------------|---|------|---|
| 50 | Lumaco   | Fundo Corrales                               | 52.28       | Juana Raiman<br>Vda. De<br>Paillana               | 2012 | mujer longko  |
| 51 | Lumaco   | La Juanilla y<br>Centinela                   | 364.31      | José Nahuelpin<br>Tromén<br>Grande                | 2008 |   |
| 52 | Lumaco   | Parte Higuera<br>Nro.18                      | 13          | Santos<br>Huentemil                               | 1994 |   |
| 53 | Lumaco   | Higuera 50, Parte                            | 12.32       | jose Maria<br>Liempi                              | 2003 |   |
| 54 | Lumaco   | Higuera nro. 5,<br>Picbipellahuen            | 40          | jose Maria<br>Liempi                              | 2003 |   |
| 55 | Lumaco   | Fundo Santa elena                            | 158         | Juan Marin<br>solo una PJ)ley<br>recien instalada | 1994 | año 1882 era un<br>pantano  |
| 56 | Lumaco   | Fundo Santa elena                            | 365         | Juan Marin de<br>Pantano y<br>Pantano II          | 2004 | hipotesis: demasiadas<br>familia para una<br>compra de tierra. Las<br>comunidades<br>buscan/ofrecen como<br>estrategia la separacion                      |
| 57 | Lumaco   | Fundo Santa Fanny                            | 463         | Juan Marin de<br>Pantano y<br>Pantano II          | 2004 | Esos predios estaban<br>todos plantados. Ahi se<br>vendio. Suponemos,<br>por presion de<br>comunidades.   |
| 58 | Traiguén | Fundo las Palmas                             | 374.67      | Chanco Alto                                       | 2007 | Chanco Marihual Alto.<br>Se le compro a una de<br>las comunidades de<br>Marihual- no sabemos<br>cual. Es una comunidad<br>indivisa (1952) en el<br>año de |
| 59 | Traiguén | Fundo Guadaco                                | 367.46      | Reduccion<br>contreras                            | 2008 |   |
| 60 | Traiguén | Fundo Santa Rosa<br>de Colpi                 | 1274.3<br>4 | Antonio ñirripil<br>(Temulemu)                    | 2011 | temulemu no existe, es<br>un sector, pero cuando<br>llega la bajo a la escuela<br>es didaiko.   |
| 61 | Traiguén | Fundo Santa Rosa<br>de Colpi                 | 58.4        | Antonio ñirripil<br>(Temulemu)                    | 1999 | habra personalidad<br>juridica de temulemu?<br>Dos longkos en una<br>comunidad.   |
| 62 | Puren    | Predio<br>campamentos, litres<br>y bollecós  | 283.7       | Domingo<br>Paillao                                | 2008 |   |
| 63 | Puren    | Lote A y B<br>manzanal Bajo                  | 12          | Juana Carriman                                    | 1998 | les compraron otros<br>dos lotes que no tenian<br>conexion directa como<br>territorio   |
| 63 | Puren    | Predio reduccion<br>Paillao manzanal<br>bajo | 37          | Juana Carriman                                    | 1997 | no es colindante/ el<br>3ero esta dentro de la<br>comunidad colindante  |

|                                      |            |   |        |   |      |  |
|--------------------------------------|------------|---|--------|---|------|--|
|                                      |            |   |        |   |      | (Domingo Paillao x 37hct)  |
| 64                                   | Puren      | Hijuela Segundo Rapahue                           | 353.5  | Goño Tuy tañi Mapu Lomgko Llaó Tranaman: significa comunidad Andres Mulato. | 2000 | nombre de fantasia: real andres mulato   |
| 65                                   | Puren      | Hijuela Segundo Rapahue                           | 173    | Goño Tuy tañi Mapu Lomgko Llaó Tranaman: significa comunidad Andres Mulato. | 2000 | nombre de fantasia   |
| 66                                   | Puren      | Huallonco   | 65     | Pascual Huenupi   | 1998 | aca hay dos comunidades I y II   |
| 67                                   | Puren      | Cilaco Lotea A y B                                | 110.7  | Pascual Huenupi II  | 1998 | aca hay dos comunidades I y II   |
| 68                                   | Puren      | La Miseria Lote A, B2 hijuela nr.5                | 120.1  | Jose Demuleo ñancul   | 1995 |  |
| 69                                   | Puren      | Santa Juliana                                     | 46.2   | Antonio Ancamilla   | 2000 |  |
| 70                                   | Puren      | Hijuela 1, Centenario, Chacayal San Pedro y otros | 119    | Luis Marileo Colipi   | 1996 |  |
| 71                                   | Puren      | Santa Ana   | 60.37  | Luis Marileo Colipi   | 2010 |  |
| 72                                   | Puren      | Ipinco  | 115.6  | Luis Marileo Colipi   | 1995 | archipelago de tierras. Puren y Lumaco es el inicio del proceso de compra. Estaba en manos del fisco y estaba loteado y se remataron en Santiago. Buscaron a los propietarios en santiago. |
| N<br>O<br>C<br>U<br>E<br>N<br>T<br>A | Los Sauces | Santa rosa  | 302.81 | livyawen de Temulemu  | 2013 | livyawen de Temulemu: jovenes de temulemu, peleados con niceto y con Pascual. Ellos entraban a mininco a robar palos, pero cuando los agarraban se mataban a palos.                        |
| 73                                   | Lonqui may | Fundo Chipaco                                     | 3796   | Bernardo ñanco el naranjo   | 1998 | esto es cordillera, es 25hct por familia o mas. Esto esta ubicado en un cerro.   |

|  |  |              |  |  |
|--|--|--------------|--|--|
|  |  | 17869.<br>31 |  |  |
|--|--|--------------|--|--|

***Annex 2. CONADI's List of 'Ancestral' lands Malleco Province***

Source: Designed by author and Hugo Salvo, 2016

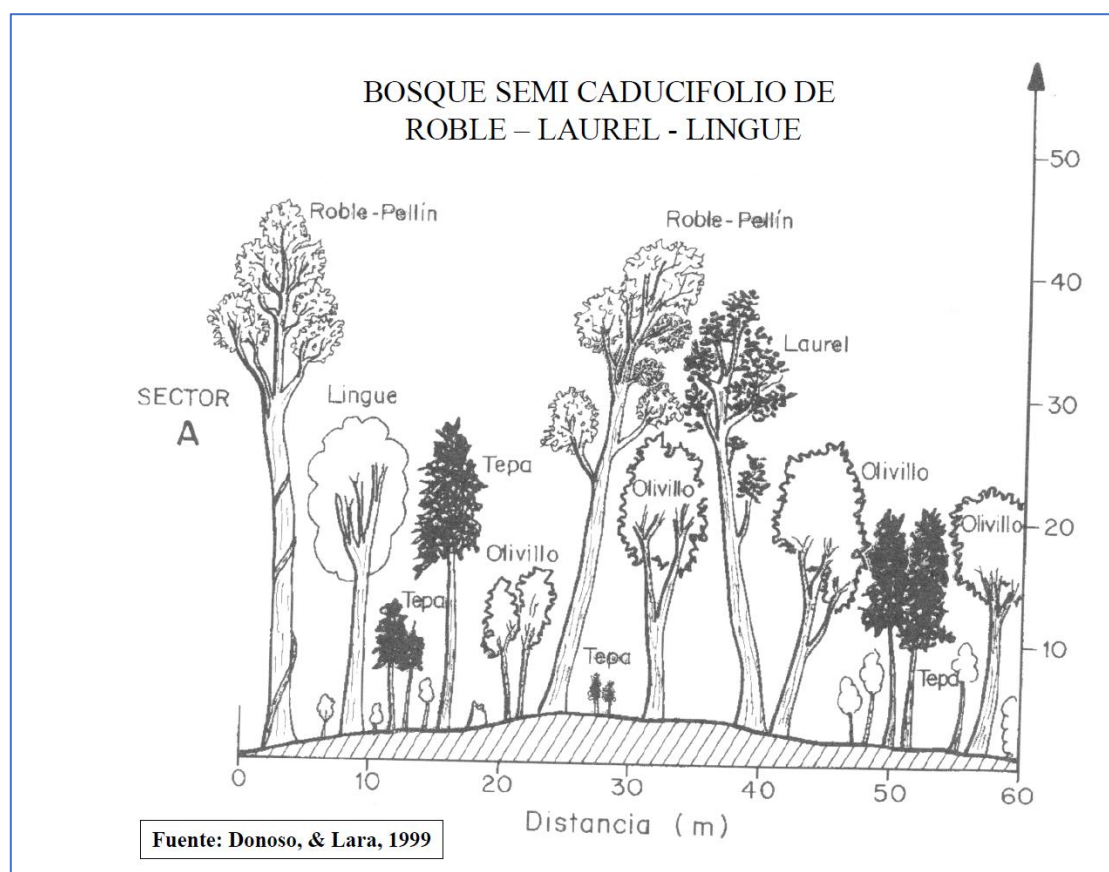
Note: List of lands bought by CONADI under the indigenous law Art.20B. These list just selected the lands that do represent the corresponding ancestral claims of communities. These was recognized by corroborating the location of each purchase. All the lands listed above are adjacent lands to the communities' position



| Material                        | metros | Año 2002 | Año 2003 | Año 2004 | Año 2005 | Año 2006 | Año 2007 | Año 2008 | Año 2009 | Año 2010 | Año 2011 | Año 2012 | Año 2013 | Año 2014 | Año 2015 | total sales<br>from 2002-2015 | total meters |
|---------------------------------|--------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-------------------------------|--------------|
| Malla Ursus 740 rollo 100m      | 100    | 10814    | 9152     | 9003     | 8479     | 8238     | 1113     | 611      | 880      | 681      | 503      | 625      | 499      | 551      | 643      | 51792                         | 5179200      |
| Malla Ursus 832 rollo 100m      | 100    | 7870     | 7013     | 5309     | 8570     | 6839     | 7022     | 5060     | 5239     | 3141     | 2778     | 2957     | 2487     | 2252     | 2724     | 69261                         | 6926100      |
| ALAMBRE PUAS BWG 12.1/2 ROLLO 2 | 400    | 11468    | 9142     | 7442     | 8262     | 9906     | 1737     | 782      | 1005     | 1549     | 1220     | 881      | 1144     | 1376     | 1241     | 57155                         | 22862000     |
| ALAMBRE PUAS BWG 13.1/2 ROLLO 2 | 400    | 9498     | 7255     | 4700     | 7554     | 7633     | 1006     | 617      | 714      | 742      | 471      | 709      | 556      | 374      | 393      | 42222                         | 16888800     |
| ALAMBRE PUAS BWG 14 ROLLO 100M  | 100    | 10696    | 10512    | 9385     | 9692     | 9320     | 1533     | 1348     | 1605     | 1308     | 993      | 1189     | 1102     | 1045     | 1416     | 61144                         | 6114400      |
| ALAMBRE PUAS BWG 14 ROLLO 275M  | 275    | 16703    | 15316    | 13373    | 12451    | 11331    | 1694     | 1243     | 1847     | 1561     | 1034     | 1599     | 1276     | 921      | 1196     | 81545                         | 22424875     |
| ALAMBRE PUAS MOTTO BWG 16 ROLLO | 350    | 38755    | 36282    | 30725    | 33620    | 24876    | 3526     | 2443     | 3989     | 3015     | 2395     | 2761     | 2441     | 1814     | 2241     | 188883                        | 66109050     |
| ALAMBRE PUAS MOTTO BWG 16 ROLLO | 500    | 41900    | 37931    | 41948    | 48109    | 42375    | 7456     | 5093     | 7126     | 4326     | 4775     | 4383     | 3938     | 4172     | 4086     | 257618                        | 128809000    |
|                                 |        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          | 275313425                     |              |
|                                 |        |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |          | km 275.313                    |              |

### Annex 3. Barbed wire sales from 2002-2015 Araucania Region

Source: records one from company operating nationally



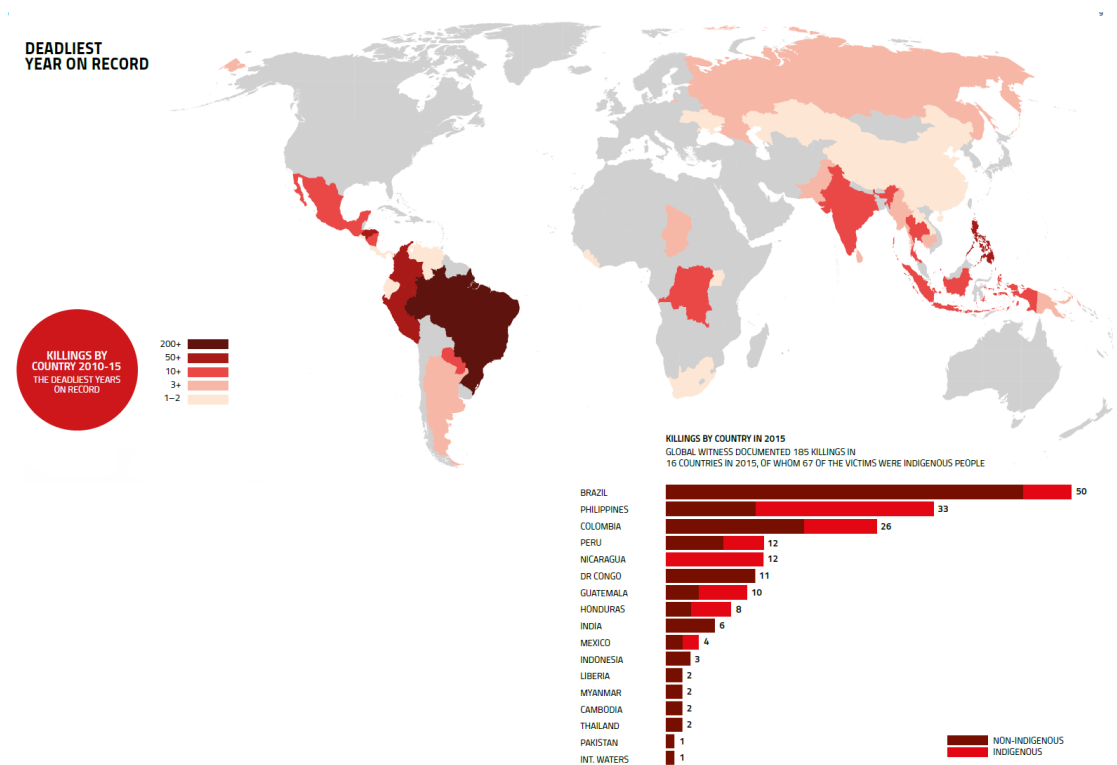
*Annex 4 Native deciduous forest in Araucanía region made of roble, laurel, and lingue*

Source: Donoso and Lara, 1999

| Property Category           | Native Forest (Ha) | Forestry Plantations (ha) |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| Large company               | 2.000.000          | 1.715.910 (78,1%)         |
| Middle size private company | 2.500.000          | 395.979 (18%)             |
| Small property              | 1.500.000          | 87.996 (4%)               |
| SNASPE                      | 3.900.000          |                           |
| National Property           | 3.600.000          | 1.700                     |
| Total                       | 13.500.000         | 2.201.581                 |

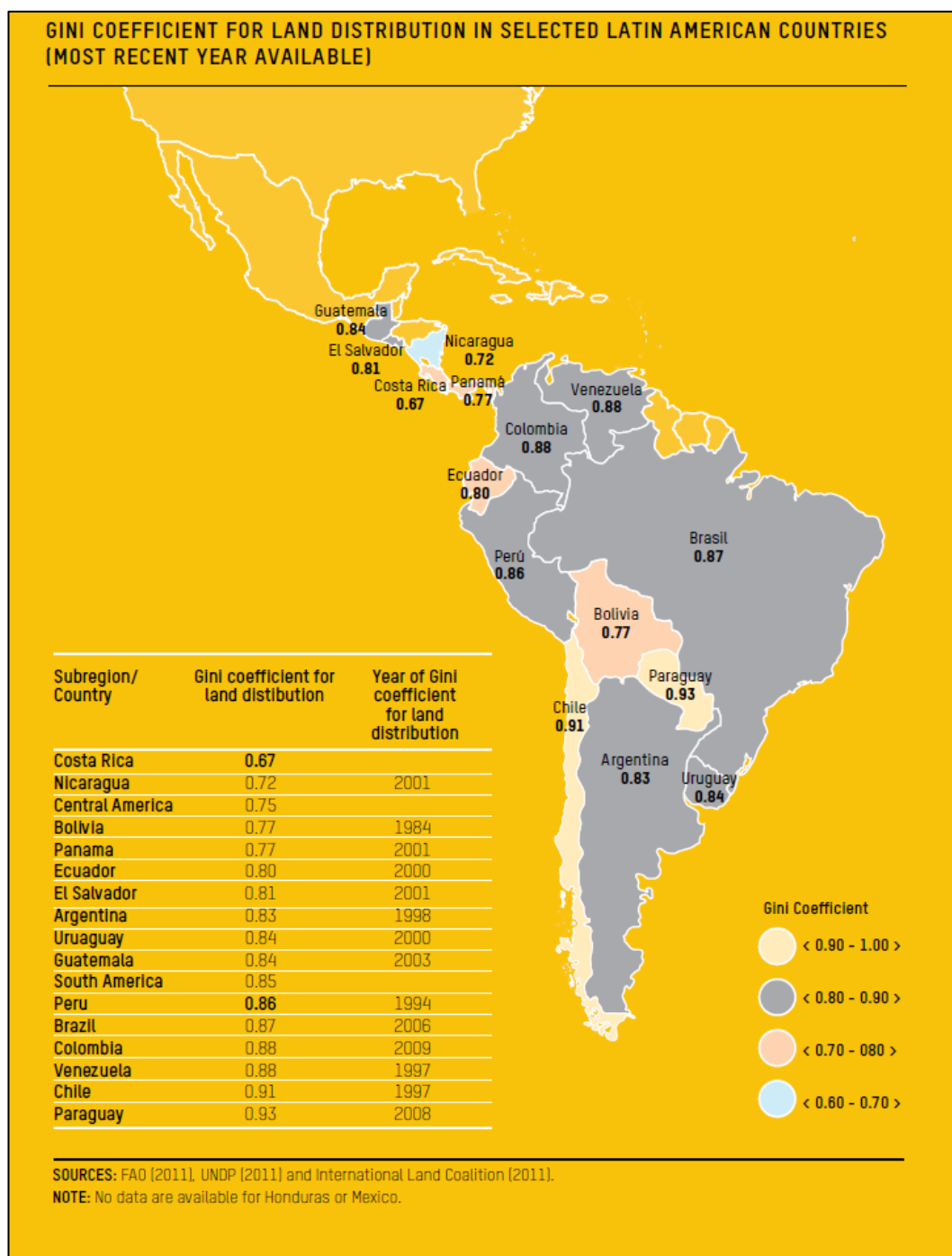
*Annex 5 Forestry registry from 1997 and agricultural census 2007*

Source: Aylwin, Yanez, Sanchez (2013)



*Annex 6 Chart showing killing of land and environmental defenders during 2015 (total 185). Map showing the recorded killings by Global Witness between 2010-2015. Total of cases registered from global Witness from 2002 are 1176 cases.*

Source: Global Witness, 2016, p.10



*Annex 7 Gini coefficient for land distribution in selected Latin American Countries*

Source: Oxfam, 2016, (p.22)